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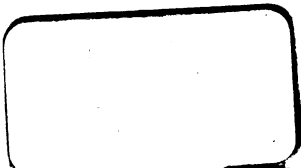
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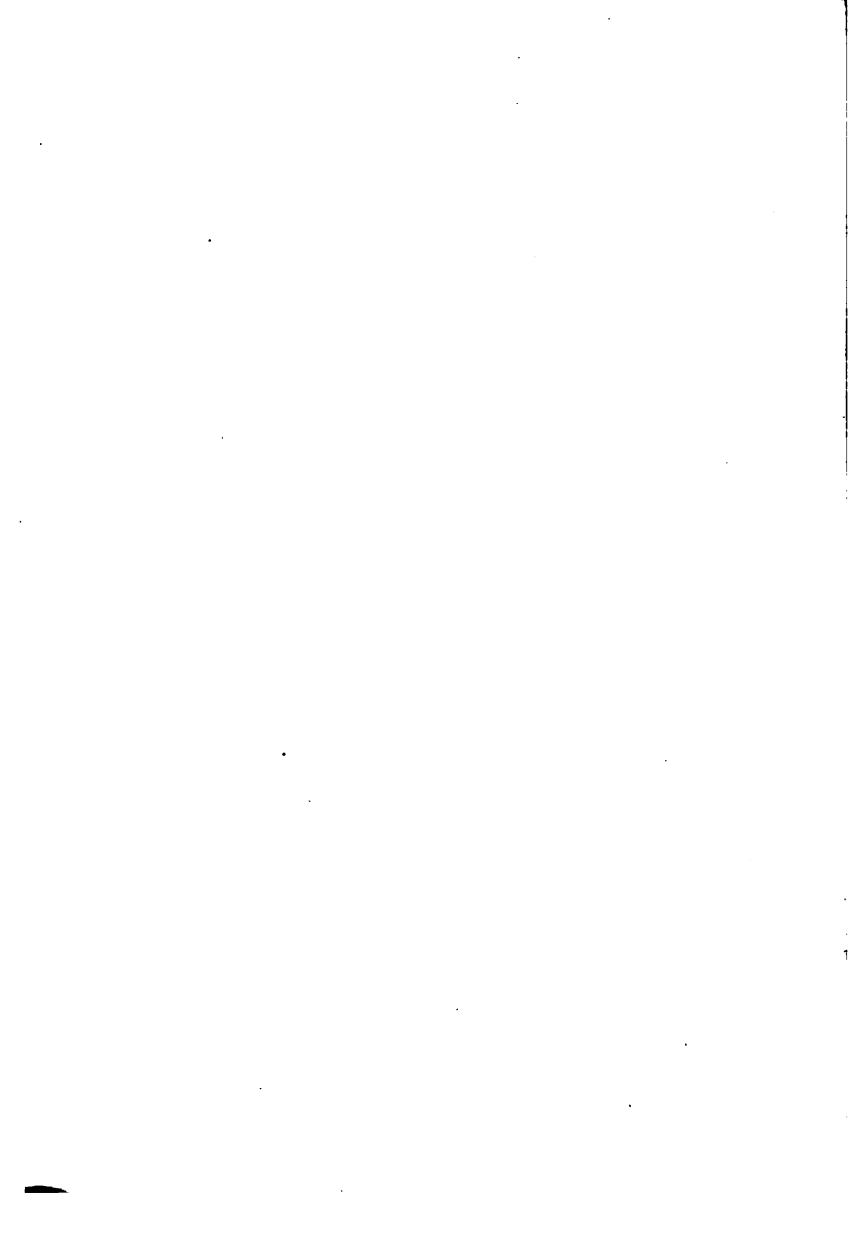
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BOOK XXVII.

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LIVY  
BOOK XXVII.

EDITED

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

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## PREFACE.

THE text of this edition is based on that of Madvig, second edition by Madvig and Ussing, 1882. Variations are noticed in the Notes on the Text. The edition of Weissenborn referred to is the third, 1878. I have also used Friedersdorf's (Teubner Series with German notes), but with little advantage.

I have ventured for the sake of younger scholars, but at the risk, I know, of being severely handled by more advanced school-boys, to retain some old-fashioned spelling. In particular, following Madvig, I have printed *es* always in the third declension plurals.

A plan of Tarentum is added to explain c. 15. But I have not thought it worth while to insert general maps. There are such excellent cheap classical atlases published now, that it seemed superfluous to do so.

The references to Dr Mommsen's *Roman History* are to the first edition of the English Translation. Emend. Liv. means Madvig's *Emendationes Livianae*, second edition.

As in my edition of Livy, Book iv., I have not thought it necessary to burden the notes with information, which may readily be obtained from a good Dictionary, or from other books of reference, to which a boy reading Livy ought to have access.



## INTRODUCTION I.

LIVY'S HISTORY OF THE YEARS B.C. 210—207.

THIS book contains the history of the Second Punic War between B.C. 210 and 207. In B.C. 211 Capua had been recovered. In B.C. 210 Scipio was appointed to the conduct of the War in Spain. The next year he began his career of diplomatic and military success in that country with the capture of New Carthage, and by the end of the same year had reduced all Spain north of the Iberus to complete submission. His campaign of the next year was marred by a great failure, about which the historians have left us completely in the dark<sup>1</sup>. All that we know for certain is that Hasdrubal Barca was allowed to leave Spain at the head of a large army, with which he advanced the next year to Italy. Whatever are the facts of the case, it is true, as Dr Mommsen says, that Scipio by his action this year in Spain was mainly to blame for the extremely critical position of Rome in the summer of B.C. 207, when Hannibal's plan of a combined attack on the Romans was at length realised<sup>2</sup>. This failure, however, the possible consequences of which were so fortunately averted by the battle of the Metaurus, was amply retrieved by the successes of the next years, in which Scipio by a happy combination of military skill with personal influence and attraction succeeded in converting Spain "from a Carthaginian into a Roman province, in which the conflict with the Romans was still continued for centuries by means of insurrection always repressed yet never subdued, but in which at the moment no enemy stood opposed to Rome<sup>3</sup>."

In Sicily, by the time at which the narrative of this book opens, the guerilla warfare carried on since B.C. 212 had been brought to a close by the desertion of Muttines from the Cartha-

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. xiii.   <sup>2</sup> R. H. II. 163.   <sup>3</sup> Mommsen, *ibid.* 164.

ginian side, and Valerius Laevinus was able to report the complete reduction of the island, and the reestablishment of the Roman province<sup>1</sup>.

As regards the narrative of the war in Italy the main interest of the book lies of course in the latter part of it, the campaign ending in the battle of the Metaurus. There can be little doubt that to the Romans that was the decisive battle, the real turning point in the war. Notwithstanding all the imaginative successes recorded on the authority of family historians, the tradition embodied by Horace in his famous ode spoke historical truth in saying that the day of the Metaurus was the first day of victory since Hannibal had begun careering through the cities of Italy<sup>2</sup>. After it the Romans could see their way to at least an advantageous peace and the evacuation of Italy. After it they began to feel secure; credit revived, buying and selling, borrowing and lending began again 'as in time of peace<sup>3</sup>.'

It may be quite true that Hannibal had really failed in his enterprise before that. He had failed in his first plan, to conquer Rome by means of Italy. Even the Greek cities of the South refused obstinately to join him after the battle of Cannae. To win the Latin communities, settled as they were on the soil of their neighbours, privileged allies of Rome, among peoples hostile to them, and bound to Rome by numerous and complicated bonds of interest and affection, was simply hopeless. They might possibly be exhausted and crushed one by one, won they could not be. Even the Italians he had won to his side after Cannae, were not all gain. Many had joined him simply from despair, knowing that they were merely changing masters; others were by no means devoted to him. The Capuans for example stipulated that he should not have the right to call Campanian citizens compulsorily to arms. He had failed, then, in his first conception. And he was failing in his alternative scheme, to crush the Latin confederation by overwhelming force. His negotiations with Philip of Macedonia were practically fruitless of result to him. The successes of the two Scipios and the still more brilliant achievements of Scipio

<sup>1</sup> c. 5.<sup>2</sup> Odes IV. IV. 41.<sup>3</sup> c. 51 § 10.

Africanus had deprived him, and seemed likely to permanently deprive him, of assistance from that quarter. Sicily was entirely lost to him. His political opponents steadily refused him reinforcements from home; a selfish short-sighted policy, Dr Mommsen says. But it was at least a good imitation of patriotic farsightedness to refuse to a brilliant adventurer the means to glorify himself at his country's expense, by making a conquest which could only be effected by the sheer exhaustion of his opponents, and which must either be worthless to the conquerors, or impossible to retain.

Hannibal then may be said to have practically failed in his enterprise before the Metaurus, and it is easy, looking back with a knowledge of subsequent events, to see that he could not ultimately have succeeded. We may even go so far as to say that he ought to have known that he could not succeed. For the only thing that could save him from failure was such a blunder as that of Scipio's, and he could not with certainty rely on such a blunder being made. But if he realised this at the time, he was probably the only person who did. The Romans, so far from feeling that he had failed, could feel no assurance that he would not ultimately succeed. The terror of the senate when the twelve colonies refused further aid, and the gloomy forebodings of certain ruin in consequence, are doubtless historical. And so are the no less gloomy apprehensions expressed even as late as when Nero was on his way to join Livius. It is true that the Romans had met with successes, notably in Sicily and Spain, and in Italy in the recapture of Capua and Tarentum. But, as Dr Mommsen has well pointed out, the wars in Spain and Sicily were purely defensive on the part of the Romans and, so far as they knew, only staved off danger for the time<sup>1</sup>. The recapture of Capua was no doubt a great success. But it was by no means followed by such decisive results as to give the Romans assurance of ultimate victory. The recovery of Tarentum was also a great success, though on the showing of the Annalists themselves it was due to good luck rather than great generalship. But after all the fact remained that Hannibal was still roving unchecked

<sup>1</sup> c. 40.

through Italy<sup>1</sup>, more than a match for all the Roman commanders and their armies. A considerable reinforcement from Carthage or Spain under an able general might at any time give him an overwhelming preponderance, and turn the scale against Rome<sup>2</sup>.

Livy's narrative tends to obscure this fact, that the Romans had no really well-grounded hopes of defeating Hannibal's enterprise until the Metaurus, though here and there it crops up in glaring contrast to the fabulous accounts of Roman successes which he adopted from the authorities whom he followed. He represents the course of the war from the recapture of Capua as a steady advance of the Roman arms towards their ultimate success, only interrupted by occasional reverses. In fact, if all the victories of the Romans recorded in this book were true, Hannibal must have been so far crippled as to make the junction of Hasdrubal with him a matter of comparatively little moment to the Romans, even if he had not been obliged to capitulate beforehand<sup>3</sup>.

Now the false impression given by this book is due partly to the legends of the victories of Marcellus embodied in it. On the source of these legends, and Livy's reason for giving credence to them at the expense of his own reputation for common sense as a historian, Dr Ihne says: "Perhaps we shall not go wrong in supposing that the fountain head (of the exaggeration about Marcellus) was the funeral speech delivered by his son<sup>4</sup>. This document however seems not to have met with unconditional credence at first, as may be inferred from the quoted declaration of Polybius<sup>5</sup>, and from Livy himself<sup>6</sup>. But when Augustus had selected M. Claudius Marcellus for the husband

<sup>1</sup> c. 20.

<sup>2</sup> c. 44 § 5.

<sup>3</sup> From the accounts of engagements, in which numbers are stated, we gather that Hannibal lost between B.C. 210 and B.C. 207, 22000 men killed, besides wounded and prisoners. To these must be added (1) his losses in three obstinately contested engagements, in the account of which no numbers are given: (2) men lost when Tarentum was recaptured.

<sup>4</sup> c. 27 § 13.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, Comp. Pelop. et Marcell. c. 1 Ἄντιβαν Μάρκελλος οὐδέ ἄπαξ ἐνίκησεν.

<sup>6</sup> l. c.

of Julia, a new period of glorification for the house of the Marcelli began. A careful search was now made for everything that redounded to the praise of the ancestors of the young man in the glorious times of the Republic. Augustus himself composed a historical work on this subject, and we cannot fail to perceive that Livy wrote under the influence of the Augustan court. He treats Marcellus as a favourite hero, and even in Plutarch we can trace the preference accorded to Marcellus. If we deduct all that family conceit and national pride have invented about Marcellus there remains indeed the image of a genuine Roman of the old type, of an intrepid soldier and an energetic officer. But the parallel between Marcellus and Pelopidas seems inappropriate, and all comparison between him and Hannibal is absurd<sup>1</sup>. If anything more than the statement of Polybius alluded to in this passage were required, it would be found in the absurd inconsistencies of Livy's narrative. (1) The first of these occurs in the account of the indecisive engagement described in c. 2. This engagement lasted from nine o'clock in the morning or thereabouts till nightfall, without decisive result. Both sides had reserves at hand. Yet neither used them until it was too late, and the 'fierce vigorous fighting of the fresh troops' must have been dropped almost as soon as it began, unless there were two nights to that day. But this is a minor inconsistency. (2) In cc. 12—14 we have the accounts of three battles, one indecisive, the second ending in the defeat of Marcellus, the third a decisive victory for the Romans. Yet in spite of this brilliant success, Marcellus spent the rest of the season in quarters at Venusia, as is tacitly implied in c. 15 § 1, and stated by the accusing tribune (c. 21 § 3), who could hardly have ignored Marcellus' victory, as he did, if it were notorious at the time. Marcellus is said indeed to have crushed him *commemoratione rerum suarum*; but the expression is vague, and, if the truth were known, is probably an euphemism for the political influence of the Claudii in Rome. It was the great number of the wounded that kept Marcellus inactive, Livy says. 'Almost all were wounded,' Plutarch says, improving on Livy. But he gives no reason for the remarkable disproportion between

<sup>1</sup> History of Rome, II. 374.

killed and wounded, which moreover is quite inconsistent with the facts of the engagement as described c. 14 §§ 10—13.

Such are the inconsistencies in the Marcellan narrative. In c. 40 fol. we have the wonderful successes of Hostilius Tubulus and Claudius Nero, the first inflicting one, the second two serious defeats on Hannibal himself. That these are fabulous we may conclude with certainty; (1) from the consciousness of the Romans expressed both by Livy<sup>1</sup> and by Appian<sup>2</sup> that a junction with Hasdrubal would have decided the war in Hannibal's favour; (2) from the fact that after the defeat of Hasdrubal, Hannibal could still defy the Romans, acting on the defensive for three years longer, and only leaving Italy, when the Roman attack on Carthage recalled him to defend his native land, and leaving it then in his own way and without molestation.

The accounts of the battles themselves contain indications of their untrustworthy character. Hostilius for example is said to have attacked Hannibal when the latter was marching from Bruttium and Lucania into the country of the Sallentini *per extremum finem agri Larinatis*. That is to say, Hannibal was marching to the north of Apulia on his way to Calabria. Madvig by way of making Livy consistent has altered Larinatis to Uriatis (the district round *Uria* or *Hyria*, the ancient metropolis of the Messapii), but the former is the reading of all the MSS, and most probably what Livy wrote. Further, Hostilius at this time was either at Capua or Tarentum (c. 35 § 14), or on his way from the latter to the former. How then comes he to be attacking Hannibal in a district about 130 miles north of Tarentum? And how comes Hannibal (§ 12) after this defeat to be encamping in the Tarentine territory from which he retires south on hearing that A. Claudius was advancing against him from his winter quarters among the Sallentini? Then again in the account of Nero's first defeat of Hannibal, in order to account for his success, Hannibal's veteran and highly disciplined troops (c. 42 § 3) under his own command are represented as rushing out of the camp to attack Nero in utter

<sup>1</sup> c. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Hannib. c. 52 ἀμάχου ἐν σφίσι τοῦ Ἀννίβου γενομένου, εἰ καὶ τήνδε τὴν στρατιὰν προσέλαβε.



disorder, scattering themselves all over the field *pecorum modo incompositos*, with no formation and no one in command of them. It is not worth while here to speculate on the origin of these inconsistencies, but taken in connection with the utter improbability of the events recorded they help to stamp the whole account as fabulous. The source of the fable of Nero's victories is easy to guess. The family legends of a house so intimately connected with the imperial throne would of course command the respectful attention of historians, and must be incorporated in their histories at any cost. Why the same regard should be shown for an obvious falsehood in the family records of a not distinguished branch of the Hostilii, it is impossible to say.

Such are the legends which tend to obscure in Livy's narrative the real respective positions of the contending parties as they must have appeared to the Romans at the time. There are some other inconsistent and evidently unhistorical statements in this book, which it may be worth while briefly to notice.

1. In c. 18 we have an account of a disastrous defeat inflicted on Hasdrubal by Scipio at Baecula. The responsibility for this fiction, or gross exaggeration, must apparently rest with Scipio himself. For Polybius' account of the same action is substantially in agreement with Livy's, and he would in all probability receive the account he gives from Scipio's friend Laelius. The origin of the whole story is probably due to Scipio's desire to cloak the blunder he evidently committed in allowing Hasdrubal to leave Spain, the very thing that he was sent to Spain to prevent. Polybius' account is less elaborate than Livy's. Either the family history had grown between the times of the two historians, or, what is more probable, Livy improved in his own delightful way on Polybius. But however that may be, both accounts must be in the main fictitious. That Scipio after inflicting such a defeat on Hasdrubal should, with all the means of information he had at his command, allow the defeated general to leave Spain unmolested, and that the latter should arrive in Italy with what Livy himself calls *ingens exercitus*, is simply incredible. The explanation given by Livy

c. 20 § 2 (after Polybius) is quite inadequate, and we are driven to the conclusion that Scipio either suffered some reverse or committed some grave error, which as the confidential agent of the gods he felt bound in honour to them to conceal.

2. In several cases Livy admits inconsistencies into his history either from misunderstanding his authorities or from adopting the accounts of different authorities in different parts of his narrative. One or two instances will suffice as examples. In c. 7 § 1 (as pointed out in the note) he despatches Laelius from Tarraco to Rome, forgetting apparently that in XXVI. 51. 2 he had, following another account, made him sail from New Carthage. In c. 7 § 5, Livy fixes the date of the capture of New Carthage in B.C. 210, because, he says, it was incredible that Scipio should be a whole year in Spain without achieving some success. But he thus assumes that Scipio went to Spain B.C. 211, whereas Polybius makes him begin operations in Spain in B.C. 209, and he does not reflect that according to his own reckoning Scipio must have done nothing all the year B.C. 208. Here probably he either misunderstood the authors he compiled from, or took the statements of different authors and combined them without comparing or sifting them. In c. 16 § 3 he speaks of Philemenus as if he were the sole author of the betrayal of Tarentum to Hannibal. But in XXV. 8. 1 he represents Nico and Philemenus as both equally responsible for that action. Evidently in these two places he was working from the accounts of different Annalists. In c. 34, adopting evidently the statement of the Annalist he is using, he speaks of Nero as quite the foremost man in Rome. That may have been true. But Livy has said nothing about Nero to prepare us for such a large statement. Practically all that we know about him from Livy is that on two occasions he failed as a military commander, once in Italy B.C. 214 when he was acting under Marcellus, and once in Spain, when he allowed Hasdrubal to out-wit him (cf. c. 49). These instances are sufficient to show how little Livy is to be trusted unless his statements are corroborated by other facts or by a reliable historian such as Polybius in the main is, and how little we really know about the details of this part of the war, for which Livy is our principal authority.

## INTRODUCTION II.

### ON C. 9. THE LATIN COLONIES.

MADVIG criticising Livy's statements in c. 9 of this book says that he speaks as if the Latin colonies were all the colonies the Romans had, and as if he was ignorant of the distinction between *coloniae civium Romanorum* and *coloniae Latinae*. But the criticism seems scarcely just. As regards the expression in § 10 *Romanos eos esse* &c., on which Madvig lays stress, it should be borne in mind that it is rhetorical. The number of Romans, who took part in the later Latin colonies at least, would be enough for a speaker to found such an appeal on. He does not mean that they were Roman citizens now, but that they had Roman blood in them (*inde oriundos*). This might be strictly true of many of them, and in a wider sense of *Romani*, opposed as it is to *Tarentini* and *Campani*, true of all. They belonged to the same stock as the Romans, they were not foreigners like the Greeks or Etruscans. Livy must have known that these thirty were not all the colonies. For in c. 38 he mentions, as Madvig observes, the nine maritime colonies. The fact is, he is here thinking only of the Latin colonies which he quite legitimately calls *coloniae Populi Romani*, whether as belonging to the Roman people, or in the stricter sense of founded by the Roman people, as all had been, which were planted since B.C. 338. He probably never thought of the *coloniae civium Romanorum*, that is, practically at this time the maritime colonies, in connection with this passage in the history. There was no question of their deserting or standing by the Roman state, for they were part and parcel of that state, differing only from the citizens at home in that they were exempt from military service in the legions, because they were perpetually serving on garrison duty, as standing outposts of the

Roman state<sup>1</sup>. The only colonies to be considered in this regard were the Latin colonies. It seems natural enough therefore for Livy to speak of them as the thirty colonies of the Roman people without adding 'besides the maritime colonies.'

*Socii* in its widest sense meant any people in alliance with another people. But, as the power of Rome increased, the word in Roman state parlance acquired a special signification, perhaps before, certainly after the full establishment of Roman supremacy and the dissolution of the Latin League B.C. 338. It came then to mean states bound to Rome by a treaty of perpetual alliance which imposed restrictions more or less on their independence. One such restriction common to all was the prohibition to enter into any relations political, commercial or connubial, with any other state except Rome. As parties to such a treaty these states were also known as *civitates foederatae*, also a term of general signification limited by usage to a special political sense. The States of the Latin League were of course *socii* and *foederati* both in the widest and in the narrower sense of the terms. But the 'Latin Name'<sup>1</sup> had been extended by colonies planted by the League before its dissolution, and by the Romans after. They therefore also were 'allies,' as in fact they were called in military arrangements, their contingents serving in the portion of the Roman army known as *socii*. But as they were allies holding a special relation to Rome, bound to Rome by a form of treaty common to all (with an exception to be mentioned presently), as all who became *Latini*, whether as members of a colony or as members of a community received into the Latin Name or Class, entered into a known and, as it were, stereotyped relationship with Rome, always imposing the same restrictions and giving the same privileges, they were distinguished from the other allies and federates, and the terms *socii* and *foederatae civitates* suffered in this regard a further restriction of meaning, applying only to the allied states not included in the *nomen*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy x. 21 the founding of Sinuessa one of the maritime colonies when *qui nomina darent non facile iuveniebantur quia in stationem se prope perpetuam infestae regionis mitti rebantur*, also c. 38 § 5 of this book.

*Latinum*. Hence the frequently occurring phrases *socii ac nomen Latinum, socii Latini nominis*.

From the year B.C. 268 there appear to have been two grades of the Latin states, that of the older foundations, and that of those, beginning with Ariminum, founded from B.C. 268 onwards. Both grades of Latins were subject to the restriction mentioned above prohibiting inter-state relations, both were required to furnish troops according to the terms of a document known as *formula coloniae* in which was stated the maximum number that could be demanded. Neither had the right of appealing from the decision of a Roman magistrate. On the other hand the old Latins retained a pretty full measure of autonomy. They were not obliged to adopt Roman laws, were governed at home by their own magistrates, and exercised the right of coining money. They enjoyed also *commercium* and *conubium* with Rome, as well as what may be called a potential citizenship. In virtue of the right of *commercium* a Latin could acquire land or other property in Rome in full ownership, could adopt or be adopted by a Roman (the process involving *mancipatio*), could leave legacies and receive legacies from Romans. In virtue of the right of *conubium* the children of a Latin husband and a Roman wife or vice versa were legitimate. To a Latin of the old foundation Roman citizenship was open on his settlement in Rome, provided he left a son to represent him in his colony. But in the case of the later founded colonies, beginning with Ariminum, these rights suffered some restrictions. (1) The autonomy of these states was to a certain extent impaired by the withdrawal of the right to coin silver money. (2) They retained the right of *commercium* but not *conubium* with Rome. (3) They lost the right to become citizens by settlement. The right of a Latin to settle in Rome as *civis sine suffragio*, and as full citizen if he desired it and fulfilled the condition mentioned above, existed from the earliest times. But, as Rome grew in importance, the disinclination on the part of the Romans to see this privilege exercised increased in direct proportion to the inclination of the Latins to exercise it. Accordingly we find in B.C. 187 and B.C. 177 large numbers of Latins expelled from Rome, probably on the ground of evasion

of the conditions of settlement, and in B.C. 95 settlement was absolutely forbidden. With this change apparently was connected the restriction imposed on the later Latin colonies, by which admission to Roman citizenship was granted only to those who had held a magistracy or had been members of the senate in their own colonies, provided also that, as before, they left a son to represent them in the colony.

From these facts it is easy to see why these colonies determined that they must live or die with Rome. On the one hand they were isolated and estranged from their neighbours, regarded by them as interlopers. On the other, they were bound to Rome by social and commercial connections, which were the growth of years. To sever those connections by joining a foreign invader would have been suicidal. It could at best be only a disadvantageous change of masters. They could not hope to be privileged above the rest of Hannibal's Italian allies. At the worst (and the worst was very probable) it might mean being turned out of their lands to make room either for the original owners or for Carthaginian colonists, and becoming part of the town-rabble of a Carthaginian Rome.

## NOTES ON THE TEXT.

In the following notes  $\Sigma$  means the reading or probable reading of the parent MS of the Codex Spirensis. The Codex Spirensis, with the exception possibly of one leaf of it known as Folium Monacense, has perished. What we know of it is derived from the notes of Beatus Rhenanus and Sigismundus Gelenius, who used it in preparing the second edition of Livy printed by Froben at Basle in 1535. From a careful comparison of these notes with the readings of other extant MSS Luchs has arrived with tolerable certainty at the following results, published in his edition of Livy XXIV.—XXX.: that the extant MSS of this decade belong to two distinct sets, which however are derived from one archetype. This archetype belonged to the sixth century and was already disfigured by gaps and errors. From it proceeded on the one side  $\Sigma$ , that is, the ancestor MS of several extant MSS, and of the MS used by Rhenanus,  $\Sigma$  being the parent apparently of a MS ( $\Sigma'$ ) which was the parent of the Codex Spirensis, and of the extant Codex Taurinensis. From this archetype on the other side proceeded the Codex Puteanus (P) a MS of the eighth century now at Paris, so called from its original owner, which until Luchs' researches was considered to be of paramount authority. It is now however shown that the readings of  $\Sigma$  (that is, practically, the readings extracted by comparison of the MSS of the  $\Sigma$  branch) have an independent value, and may be used with advantage in correcting errors in P.

Luchs' researches have also exploded the theory formerly held by several scholars (Madvig amongst the rest) that XXVI. 41. 18—42. 9 and XXVII. 2. 11—3. 7 (*quam magna...Atellam*), which do not appear in P, were the composition of an Italian of the 15th century.

c. 1. § 8. *pugnantium*] Mg and Weissenb. adopt Gronovius' conj.

*trepidantium. necopinantium* which has been suggested would be a better emendation. But *pugnantium* is intelligible and has MSS authority.

§ 9. *Fulvii*] P, retained by Mg, who says, *Latine similitudinem increpare dicitur, non in similitudinem*. Others in *Fulvii similitudinem nominis*.

§ 11. *ante*] is probably wrong. *ante...deinde = primum...deinde* is quite unparalleled.

2. § 1. *atque*] Σ, probably right. Livy's usual combinations in this phrase are *atque* or *que*, very seldom *et*.

§ 4. *consul*] Friedersd. inserts *at* before *consul*, quite unnecessarily, see II. 2. 9.

§ 7. *stetit. ut*] Mg; *ut* wanting in MSS. Weissenb. inserts *ubi* before *diu*, and punctuates *stetit*. But, as Mg says, that would require *steterat*. Mg's emendation also avoids harsh asyndeton at *novum*.

3. § 4. *ut*] wanting in MSS. Most editors insert it, instead of changing *incenderent* (MSS) into *incendere* as Weissenb.

§ 9. *sociorum*] has good MSS authority. Weissenb. omits it, on the ground, mistaken apparently, that the urban army consisted of Romans only.

5. § 4. *neminem* &c.] Mg's rearrangement of the text. Most editors retain *qui...afuerint* between *Siculum* and *non*; *neminem Siculum qui = neminem Siculorum eorum qui* is awkward and not Livian Latin. The words in that position spoil the balance of the sentences, besides introducing rather a feeble modification of Laevinus' description of his merits.

6. § 15. *factus...Crassi*] bracketed as spurious by Mg. The repetition is useless and misleading, as suggesting that two men were replaced instead of one.

§ 19. *apparatos*] Σ, seems preferable to *magnifici apparatus* retained by Mg. The qualifying clause *pro...copia* is rather harshly placed with the latter reading.

7. § 3. *obsistentem*] emendation of MSS *subsistentem*. The latter is not used with *dat.* in good writers. In the two passages where it occurs, Cic. *ad Fam.* XI. 10. 5 and Tibullus IV. 1. 195, the text is corrupt. The corruption here would easily arise from a doubling of the preceding *s*.

§ 16. *placere*] supplied from Σ, is required for the construction. Weissenb. omits it, and supplies *iussum* from the context, but does not suggest how to translate it. The only alternative is Mg's suggestion



(*Emend. Liv.*, not in his latest text) *aut ipse V. Laevinus traicere, aut mittere.*

8. § 4. *decemvir*] Mg maintains this reading instead of MSS *decemvirum* (partitive gen.) on the ground that the termination may have been easily affected by the preceding accus.

9. § 13. *quod*] Mg instead of MSS *quid*.

11. § 3. [*aedis*] Luchs. The combination *cella aedis* is most unusual. *Hand-Tursell.*, III. 448.

12. §§ 2, 3. *fore*] Mg, so avoiding *vitiosa ellipsis* of the verb in the rel. clause. *remorandi* MSS. The verb is only found here in intrans. sense. The *re* might easily arise from the preceding *ne*.

13. § 11. *cohortes quaeque*] P, Mg. *cohortesque quae* Σ, Luchs, Weissenb. *Non recte separantur singuli milites* (a quibus) *a cohortibus*, Mg.

14. § 13. *quoque*] *forte* Σ, but it seems no improvement.

15. § 15. *illo*] P, Mg. *praepositus* is complete, 'in command'.

16. § 6. *faciliori ascensu*] Wesenberg's conj. for *facilior in ascensum* of MSS (a construction which has no parallel), adopted by most editors, except Weissenb.

20. § 3. *exsequendi*] Mg, for MSS *exsequenda*; *consilium in aliquid faciendum* is not Latin.

§ 4. *provincia et*] Mg for MSS *provinciae regione*, which would imply that Carthaginian Spain was divided into provinces after the Roman fashion. Livy probably wrote *et regione* to show that *provincia* was used in a general sense.

22. § 6. *additae ei ad*] Σ. *additum etiam* P, retained by Weissenb. Mg suggests as the true reading *additum et aliud praesidium provinciae*.

§ 13. *caperentur*] P. *orerentur* Σ, which Luchs is inclined to believe right, thinking *caperentur* to be a mistake of the copyist of P, who just before wrote *caperet* for *caveret*.

24. § 3. [*tempus*], probably gloss; if not, *bidui* must be read instead of *biduum*.

*iussit praefectos* &c.] Gronovius, followed by Mg, altered to *iussi praefecti* because P has *tribuni*, but the reading of the text seems best supported.

§ 9. *movere possent praecavisset*] Σ. *moveri posset cavisset* P, retained by Mg. The rhythm of the former is better.

25. § 8. *duobus*] P. *diis* added by Weissenb. Several MSS have *amplius quam uni deo* which is adopted by Mg. But the words look like a gloss.

§ 14. *in aciem exire*] seems on the whole nearest to the MSS., which are very corrupt here, and gives as good a sense as *in acie stare* adopted by Mg.

26. § 1. *habebas*] Gronov. emend. for MSS *haberet*, retained by Mg and Luchs. The subj. if read must be taken as conditional, 'as he would have'.

27. § 13. *memoriam*] Luchs. *ordinem* MSS, which gives no sense. Mg suggests *recordationem*, Weissenb., *rationem*.

28. § 5. *quam*] Σ. *cum* P, Mg.

30. § 5. *ferociori...gente*] Gronov. emend. of MSS *ferocioris...gentis*, adopted by editors except Weissenb., who prefers *ferocioribus...gentis* of Ascensius.

§ 9. *ferunt*] correction of MSS *referunt* by A. Perizonius, adopted by all editors except Weissenb.

32. § 5. *super*] Mg emend. of MSS. *per*, adopted by all editors except Weissenb.

§ 9. *pecorumque*] Σ. *pecoris* P, retained by Mg.

33. § 10. *fuisse*] appears to have MSS authority. Mg has it in his text, but in his note prefers *fuisent* which has better MSS authority, but is less natural Latin.

36. § 9. *ludis*] MSS, retained by Mg. Luchs adopts Wesenberg's conj. *plebeii ludi instaurati*.

37. § 2. *tactam*] Σ. *tacta* (neut. pl.) P, retained by Mg.

§ 6. *extorrem*] Σ. *extorre* P, retained by Mg.

38. § 9. *et ex provinciis...quo*] Mg emend. of MSS *ex provincia...quos* adopted by all editors. The alteration is necessary, for (1) it could not be important to the republic that individual soldiers should be transferred, (2) if it were, they would be included in the previous sentence, (3) if transferred, they must be transferred some whither.

39. § 13. *celerioris*] suggestion of Luchs for MSS *celeriores*, which is printed by Luchs in his text and retained by other editors. The accus., which must agree with *famam*, involves a very harsh hypallage, for *celer* means 'quick' not 'early'.

40. § 10. *Uriatis*] Mg's last emend. of MSS *Larinatis*, see Introduction I.

41. § 6. *vallibus*] Σ. *collibus*, P, Mg.

43. § 8. *et*] inserted by Mg after Duker, is required to correspond to *et* before *ipse*, which means 'both' not 'also'.

45. § 3. *sit, eo ipsi si quantumcunque*] Mg's emend. of MSS *eo ipsos, quantumcunque*, adopted by all editors except Weissenb. The

sense obviously requires *eo* to be taken with *addiderint*. *ipsos* would easily arise out of *ipsi si*.

§ 11. *nisi*] inserted by Mg. MSS reading is *nec ab signis subsistere*, for which older editors read *nec ab signis absistere*, later editors *nec ab signis abire (abscedere) nec subsistere*. Mg objects (1) that this would be nearly, if not quite, impossible, (2) that if it were meant, *ne...quidem* would be required. Therefore he assumes the loss of another word, *nisi*.

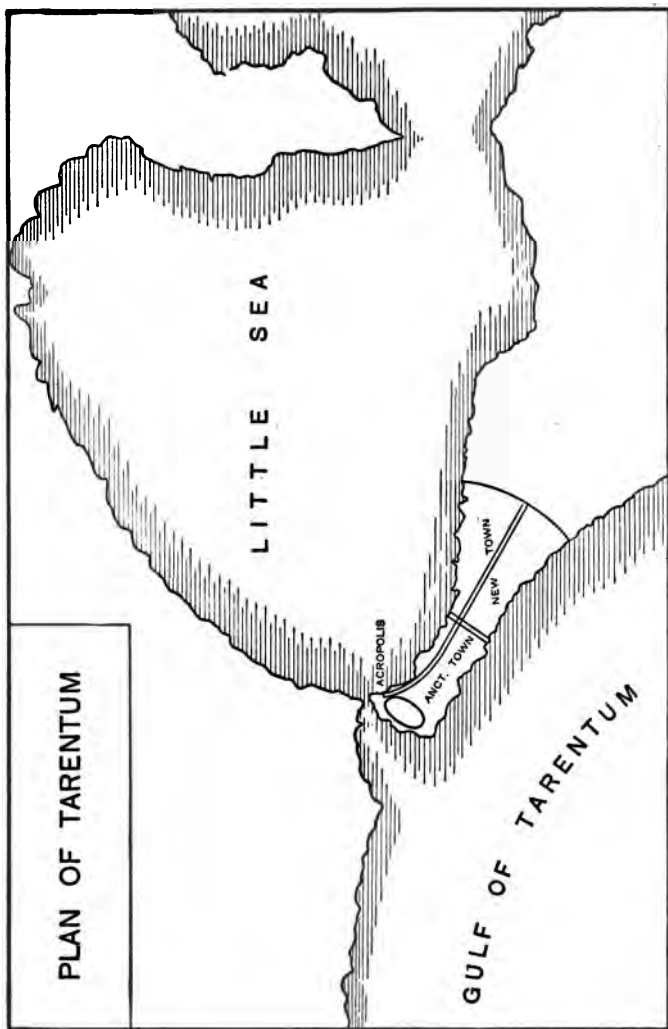
47. § 6. *haberet*] Σ. See note.

§ 9. *somno &c.*] some editors change to *itinere ac vigiliis sternunt somno corpora*. But the difficulty of *somno* does not justify the change. See note.

§ 10. *orbem*] Weissenb.'s suggested emendation of MSS *errorem*, which Mg and Luchs retain. *errorem volvere* seems too poetical even for Livy. Silius Ital. describing the same journey has *exiguum involvunt frustratis gressibus orbem*. xv. 624.

48. § 14. *dextrum*] *sinistrum* MSS, as Mg says, is probably an error of Livy himself. In an edition of this kind it seemed better to make the correction in the text.

49. § 2. *regentis imperium sprevisissent*] M. Müller's emend. The MSS are very corrupt. *regendi spem* Σ, adopted by Mg and Luchs, is a very awkward expression (as Mg himself says in *Emend. Liv.*, where he approves of Weissenb.'s *regentes sprevisissent*) and may easily have been a corruption of an original corruption. P has *regendis-peruicissent*, which seems to suggest *regentis imperium uicissent* as the true reading.



PLAN OF TARENTUM

LITTLE SEA

GULF OF TARENTUM

ACROPOLIS

ANCIENT TOWN

NEW TOWN

# TITI LIVI

## AB URBE CONDITA

### LIBER XXVII.

#### PERIOCHA.

Cn. Fulvius proconsul cum exercitu ab Hannibale ad Herdoneam caesus est. meliore eventu ab Claudio Marcello consule adversus eundem ad Numistronem pugnatum est. inde Hannibal nocte recessit; Marcellus insecutus est et subinde cedentem pressit, donec confingeret. priore pugna Hannibal superior, Marcellus sequenti. Fabius Maximus consul pater Tarentinos per proditionem recepit. Claudius Marcellus T. Quinctius Crispinus consules, speculandi causa progressi e castris, insidiis ab Hannibale circumventi sunt. Marcellus occisus, Crispinus fugit. lustrum a censoribus conditum est. censa sunt civium capita CXXXVII CVIII; ex quo numero apparuit, quantum hominum tot proeliorum adversa fortuna populo Romano abstulisset. in Hispania ad Baeculam Scipio cum Hasdrubale et Hamilcare conflixit et vicit. inter alia captum regalem puerum eximiae formae ad avunculum Masinissam cum donis dimisit. Hasdrubal, qui cum exercitu novo Alpes transcenderat, ut se Hannibali coniungeret, cum milibus hominum LVI caesus est, capta VCCC M. Livi consulis ductu, sed non minore opera Claudii Neronis consulis, qui cum Hannibali oppositus esset, relictis castris ita, ut hostem falleret, cum electa manu profectus Hasdrubalem circumvenerat. res praeterea a P. Scipione in Hispania et a P. Sulpicio praetore adversus Philippum et Achaeos gestas continet.

[I—III. B.C. 210. War in Italy.]

- 1 Hic status rerum in Hispania erat; in Italia consul  
 Marcellus Salapia per proditionem recepta Mar-  
 2 Hannibal at-  
 tacks and defeats  
 Cn. Fulvius, pro-  
 consul, near Her-  
 donea. Fulvius  
 is killed in the  
 battle, his army  
 almost annihi-  
 lated. Hannibal's  
 vengeance on the  
 citizens of Her-  
 donea.  
 doneas et Meles de Samnitibus vi cepit. ad  
 3 tria milia militum ibi Hannibalis, quae prae-  
 sidii causa relicta erant, oppressa. praeda—  
 et <sup>partem</sup> aliquantum eius fuit—militi concessa. tri-  
 tici quoque ducenta quadraginta milia modium  
 et centum decem milia hordei inventa. ceterum  
 nequaquam inde tantum gaudium fuit,  
 quanta clades intra paucos dies accepta est  
 4 haud procul Herdonea urbe. castra ibi Cn. Fulvius pro-  
 consul habebat spe recipiendae Herdoneae, quae post  
 Cannensem cladem ab Romanis defecerat; nec loco satis  
 5 tuto posita nec praesidiis firmata. negligentiam insitam  
 ingenio ducis augebat spes ea, quod labare iis adversus 15  
 Poenum fidem senserat, postquam Salapia amissa exces-  
 6 sisse iis locis in Bruttios Hannibalem auditum est. ea  
 omnia ab Herdonea per occultos nuntios delata Hannibali  
 simul curam sociae retinendae urbis et spem fecere incau-  
 tum hostem adgrediendi. exercitu expedito, ita ut famam 20  
 prope praeveniret, magnis itineribus ad Herdoneam con-  
 tendit et, quo plus terroris hosti obiceret, acie instructa  
 accessit. par audacia Romanus, consilio et viribus impar,  
 7 copiis <sup>agilibus</sup> ~~rapinis~~ eductis conflixit. quinta legio et sinistra ala  
 8 acriter pugnam inierunt. ceterum Hannibal signo equitibus 25  
 dato, ut, cum pedestres acies occupassent praesenti cer-  
 tamine oculos animosque, circumvecti pars castra hostium  
 9 pars terga pugnantium invaderent, ipse in Fulviis simili-  
 tudinem nominis, quia Cn. Fulvium praetorem biennio  
 ante in isdem devicerat locis, <sup>trunc</sup> increpans, similem eventum 30  
 10 pugnae fore adfirmabat. neque ea spes vana fuit: nam  
 cum comminus acie et peditum certamine multi Roma-

LIBER XXVII.

[I—III. B.C. 210. *War in Italy.*]

norum cecidissent, starent tamen ordines signaque, eque-  
 stris tumultus a tergo simul a castris clamor hostilis auditus  
 sextam ante legionem, quae in secunda acie posita prior 11  
 ab Numidis turbata est, quintam deinde atque eos, qui ad  
 5 prima signa erant, avertit. pars in fugam effusi, pars in 12  
 medio caesi, ubi et ipse Cn. Fulvius cum undecim tribunis  
 militum cecidit. Romanorum sociorumque quot caesa in 13  
 eo proelio milia sint, quis pro certo adfirmet, cum alibi  
 tredecim milia, alibi haud plus quam septem inveniam?  
 10 castris praedaeque victor potitur. Herdoneam quia et de 14  
 fecturam fuisse ad Romanos comperit, nec mansuram in  
 fide, si inde abscessisset, multitudine omni Metapontum  
 ac Thurios traducta incendit; occidit principes, qui cum  
 Fulvio conloquia occulta habuisse comperti sunt. Romani, 15  
 15 qui ex tanta clade evaserant, diversis itineribus semerme  
 ad Marcellum consulem in Samnium perfugerunt.

Marcellus (nihil admodum) tanta clade territus litteras 2  
 Romam ad senatum de duce atque exercitu ad  
 Herdoneam amisso scribit; ceterum eundem  
 20 se, qui post Cannensem pugnam ferocem vic-  
 toria Hannibalem contuderit, ire adversus eum,  
 brevem illi laetitiam, qua exultet, facturum.  
 et Romae quidem cum luctus ingens ex prae-  
 terito, tum timor in futurum erat. consul ex  
 25 Samnio in Lucanos transgressus ad Numis-  
 tronem in conspectu Hannibalis loco plano,  
 cum Poenus collem teneret, posuit castra.  
 addidit et aliam fidentis speciem, quod prior in aciem eduxit; 5  
 nec detraxit Hannibal, ut signa portis efferri vidit. ita  
 30 tamen aciem instruxerunt, ut Poenus dextrum cornu in  
 collem erigeret, Romani sinistrum ad oppidum adplicarent.  
 ab hora tertia cum ad noctem pugnam extendissent, fessae 6

Marcellus  
 marches from 2  
 Samnium into Lu-  
 cania to oppose  
 Hannibal. An  
 indecisive battle  
 is fought near  
 Numistro. The  
 next day Hanni- 3  
 bal retreats to-  
 wards Venusia. 4  
 Marcellus over-  
 takes him and  
 digs his move-  
 ments.

[I—III. B.C. 210. *War in Italy.*]

que pugnando primae acies essent—ab Romanis prima legio et dextra ala, ab Hannibale Hispani milites et funditores Baliates, elephanti quoque commisso iam certamine 7 in proelium acti—, diu pugna neutro inclinata stetit. *ut* primae legioni tertia, dextrae alae sinistra subiit, et apud 8 hostes integri a fessis pugnam accepere, novum atque atrox proelium ex iam segni repente exarsit recentibus animis corporibusque; sed nox incerta victoria diremit pugnantes. 9 postero die Romani ab sole orto in multum diei stetero in acie; ubi nemo hostium adversus prodiit, spolia per otium 10 legere et congestos in unum locum cremavere suos. nocte insequenti Hannibal silentio movit castra et in Apuliam abiit. Marcellus, ubi lux fugam hostium aperuit, sauciis cum praesidio modico Numistrone relictis praepositoque iis L. Furio Purpurione tribuno militum, vestigiis institit 15 sequi. ad Venusiam adeptus eum est. ibi per dies aliquot, cum ab stationibus procuraretur, mixta equitum peditumque tumultuosa magis proelia quam magna, et 12 ferme omnia Romanis secunda fuere. inde per Apuliam ducti exercitus sine ullo memorando certamine, cum 20 Hannibal nocte signa moveret, locum <sup>ambrosiae</sup> insidiis quaerens, Marcellus nisi certa luce et explorato ante non sequeretur.

3 Capuae interim Flaccus dum bonis principum vendendis, agro, qui publicatus erat, locando—locavit 25 autem omnem frumento—tempus terit, ne deesset materia in Campanos saeviendi, novum in occulto gliscens per indicium protractum est facinus. milites aedificiis emotos, simul ut cum agro tecta urbis fruenda loca 30 rentur, simul metuens, ne suum quoque exercitum sicut Hannibalis nimia urbis amoenitas emolliret,

At Capua (cf. xxvi. 34. 11) a conspiracy to set fire to the Roman quarters is discovered. The guilty parties punished and informers rewarded.

*ambrosiae*  
*locando*



[I—III. B.C. 210. *War in Italy.*]

in portis murisque sibimet ipsos tecta militariter coegerat, aedificare. erant autem pleraque ex cratibus aut tabulis <sup>boards</sup> 3  
 facta, alia harundine texta, stramento intecta omnia, velut  
 de industria alimentis ignis. haec noctis una hora omnia 4  
 5 ut incenderent centum septuaginta Campani principibus  
 Blossiis fratribus coniuraverunt. indicio eius rei ex familia 5  
 Blossiorum facto, portis repente iussu proconsulis clausis,  
 cum ad arma signo dato milites concurrissent, comprehensi  
 omnes qui in noxa erant et quaestione acriter habita dam-  
 10 nati necatique; <sup>by the</sup> indicibus libertas et aeris dena milia data.  
 Nucerinos et Acerranos, querentes, ubi habitarent, non 6  
 esse, Acerris ex parte incensis, Nuceria deleta, Romam  
 Fulvius ad senatum misit. Acerranis permissum, ut aedifi- 7  
 carent, quae incensa erant; Nucerni Atellam, quia id  
 15 maluerant, Atellanis Calatiam migrare iussis, <sup>conducted</sup> traducti.

Inter multas magnasque res, quae nunc <sup>favoured</sup> secundae nunc 8  
 adversae occupabant cogitationes hominum, Troops and pro-  
 ne Tarentinae quidem arcis excidit memoria. <sup>visions sent to</sup>  
 M. Ogulnius et P. Aquilius in Etruriam Tarentum. 9  
 20 legati ad frumentum coemendum, quod Tarentum porta-  
 retur, profecti, et mille milites de exercitu urbano, par  
 numerus Romanorum sociorumque, eodem in praesidium  
 cum frumento missi.

[IV—VII. 6. B.C. 210. *Affairs in Rome.*]

Iam aestas in exitu erat, comitorumque consularium 4  
 25 instabat tempus. sed litterae Marcelli, negantis <sup>Laevinus recalled</sup>  
 e re publica esse vestigium abscedi ab Hanni- <sup>from Sicily to</sup>  
 bale, cui cedenti certamenque abnuenti gravis <sup>hold the consular</sup>  
 ipse instaret, curam iniecerant, ne aut consulem tum maxime 2  
 res agentem a bello avocarent, aut in annum consules <sup>elections.</sup>

[IV—VII. 6. B.C. 210. *Affairs in Rome.*]

3 deessent. optimum visum est, quamquam extra Italiam  
esset, Valerium potius consulem ex Sicilia revocari. ad  
eum litterae iussu senatus ab L. Manlio praetore urbano  
4 missae cum litteris consulis M. Marcelli, ut ex iis nosceret,  
quae causa patribus eum potius quam collegam revocandi  
ex provincia esset.

5 Eo fere tempore legati ab rege Syphace Romam vene-  
runt, quae is prospera proelia cum Cartha-  
6 Embassy from Syphax desiring friendship with Rome. A counter-embassy is sent with gifts and assurance of friendship and with orders to conciliate other African chiefs. giniensibus fecisset memorantes. regem nec  
inimiciorem ulli populo quam Carthaginiensi 10  
nec amiciorem quam Romano esse adfirma-  
bant; misisse eum antea legatos in Hispaniam  
ad Cn. et P. Cornelios imperatores Romanos;  
nunc ab ipso velut fonte petere Romanam  
7 amicitiam voluisse. senatus non legatis modo 15  
benigne respondit, sed et ipse legatos cum donis ad re-  
8 gem misit, L. Genucium P. Poetelium P. Popillium. dona  
tulere togam et tunicam purpuream, sellam eburneam,  
9 pateram ex quinque pondo auri factam. protinus et alios  
Africae regulos iussi adire; iis quoque quae darentur, por-  
10 tata, togae praetextae et terna pondo paterae aureae. et  
Alexandream ad Ptolomaeum et Cleopatram reges M.  
Atilius et M'. Acilius legati, ad commemorandam reno-  
vandamque amicitiam missi, dona tulere, regi togam et  
tunicam purpuream cum sella eburnea, reginae pallam 25  
pictam cum amiculo purpureo.

11 Multa ea aestate, qua haec facta sunt, ex propinquis  
Prodigies. urbibus agrisque nuntiata sunt prodigia: Tus-  
culi agnum cum ubere lactenti natum, Iovis aedis culmen  
12 fulmine ictum ac prope omni tecto nudatum; isdem ferme 30  
diebus Anagniae terram ante portam ictam diem ac noctem  
sine ullo ignis alimento arsisse, et aves ad Compitum

[IV—VII. 6. B.C. 210. *Affairs in Rome.*]

Anagninum in luco Dianae nidos in arboribus reliquisse; Tarracinae in mari haud procul portu angues magnitudinis 13 mirae lascivientium piscium modo exultasse; Tarquiniis 14 porcum cum ore humano genitum, et in agro Capenate *Capenate* 5 ad lucum Feroniae quattuor signa sanguine multo diem ac noctem sudasse. haec prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata 15 decreto pontificum; et supplicatio diem unum Romae ad omnia pulvinaria, alterum in Capenati agro ad Feroniae lucum indicta.

10 M. Valerius consul litteris <sup>causis</sup> excitus provincia exercituque 5 mandato L. Cincio praetori, M. Valerio Mes- Laevinus re- salla praefecto classis cum parte navium in 2 presents to the Africam praedatum simul speculatumque, quae complete recovery of 2 Sicily. Mutines is made a Roman 15 misso, ipse decem navibus Romam profectus citizen. cum prospere pervenisset, senatum extemplo habuit. ibi 3 de suis rebus gestis commemoravit: cum annos prope sexaginta in Sicilia terra marique magnis saepe cladibus bellatum esset, se eam provinciam confecisse; neminem 4 20 Carthaginiensem in Sicilia esse; neminem Siculum non esse; qui fugati metu inde afuerint, omnes in urbes, in agros suos reductos arare serere; desertam recoli tandem terram, frugiferam ipsis cultoribus, populoque Romano pace 5 ac bello fidissimum annonae subsidium. exim Muttine et 6 25 si quorum aliorum merita erga populum Romanum erant in senatum introductis, honores omnibus ad exsolvendam fidem consulis habiti. Muttines etiam civis Romanus fac- 7 tus rogatione ab tribuno plebis ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem lata.

30 Dum haec Romae geruntur, M. Valerius quinquaginta 8 navibus cum ante lucem ad Africam accessisset, inproviso in agrum Uticensem escensionem fecit; eumque late de- 9

[IV—VII. 6. B.C. 210. *Affairs in Rome.*]

populatus multis mortalibus cum alia omnis generis praeda

News received from M. Valerius Messalla, *praefectus classis* in Sicily, that Hasdrubal is going to join Hannibal in Italy. It is determined to appoint a dictator. Dispute between Laevinus and the Senate as to the nomination.

- 10 captis ad naves redit atque in Siciliam transmisit, tertio decimo die, quam profectus inde erat, Lilybaeum reventus. ex captivis quaestione habita haec comperta consulique Laevino 5 omnia ordine perscripta, ut sciret, quo in statu res Africae essent: quinque milia Numidarum cum Masinissa Galae filio, acerrimo iuvene, Carthagine esse, et alios per totam
- 11 Africam milites mercede conduci, qui in His- 10 paniam ad Hasdrubalem traicerentur, ut is quam maximo exercitu primo quoque tempore in Italiam transgressus iungeret se Hannibali; in eo positam victoriam credere
- 12 Carthaginenses; classem praeterea ingentem apparari ad Siciliam repetendam, eamque se credere brevi traiecturam. 15
- 13 haec recitata a consule ita movere senatum, ut non expectanda comitia consuli censerent, sed dictatore comitorum habendorum causa dicto extemplo in provinciam rede-
- 14 undum. illa disceptatio tenebat, quod consul in Sicilia se M. Valerium Messallam, qui tum classi praeesset, dicta- 20 torem dicturum esse aiebat, patres extra Romanum agrum — eum autem in Italia terminari—negabant dictatorem dici
- 15 posse. M. Lucretius tribunus plebis cum de ea re consuleret, ita decrevit senatus, ut consul, priusquam ab urbe discederet, populum rogaret, quem dictatorem dici placeret, 25 eumque, quem populus iussisset, dictatorem diceret; si consul nolisset, praetor populum rogaret; si ne is quidem
- 16 vellet, tum tribuni ad plebem ferrent. cum consul se populum rogaturum negasset, quod suae potestatis esset, praetoremque vetuisset rogare, tribuni plebis rogarunt, 30 plebesque scivit, ut Q. Fulvius, qui tum ad Capuam erat,
- 17 dictator diceretur. sed quo die id plebis concilium futurum

[IV—VII. 6. B.C. 210. *Affairs in Rome.*]

erat, consul clam nocte in Siciliam abiit; destitutique  
 patres; litteras ad M. Claudium mittendas censuerunt, ut  
 desertæ ab conlega rei publicæ subveniret diceretque,  
 quem populus iussisset, dictatorem. ita a M. Claudio 19  
 5 consule Q. Fulvius dictator dictus, et ex eodem plebis  
 scito ab Q. Fulvio dictatore P. Licinius Crassus pontifex  
 maximus magister equitum dictus.

Dictator postquam Romam venit, C. Sempronium 6  
 Blaesum legatum, quem ad Capuam habuerat,  
 10 in Etruriam provinciam ad exercitum misit in  
 locum C. Calpurni praetoris, quem, ut Capuae  
 exercituique suo praeesset, litteris excivit. ipse  
 comitia in quem diem primum potuit edixit;  
 quæ certamine inter tribunos dictatoremque  
 15 iniecto perfici non potuerunt. Galeria iuniorum, quæ sorte 3  
 praerogativa erat, Q. Fulvium et Q. Fabium consules dix-  
 rat, eodemque iure vocatae inclinassent, ni se tribuni plebis  
 C. et L. Arrenii interposuissent, qui neque magistratum 4  
 continuari satis civile esse aiebant, et multo foedioris  
 20 exempli eum ipsum creari, qui comitia haberet; itaque 5  
 si suum nomen dictator acciperet, se comitiis intercessuros;  
 si aliorum praeterquam ipsius ratio haberetur, comitiis se  
 moram non facere. dictator causam comitorum auctoritate 6  
 senatus, plebis scito, exemplis tutabatur: namque Cn. 7  
 25 Servilio consule, cum C. Flaminius alter consul ad Trasumennum  
 cecidisset, ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem latum,  
 plebemque scivisse, ut, quoad bellum in Italia esset, ex iis,  
 qui consules fuissent, quos et quotiens vellet, reficiendi  
 consules populo ius esset; exemplaue in eam rem se 8  
 30 habere vetus L. Postumi Megelli, qui interrex iis comitiis,  
 quæ ipse habuisset, consul cum C. Iunio Bubulco creatus  
 esset, recens Q. Fabi, qui sibi continuari consulatum, nisi

The dictator holds the consular comitia, and succeeds in spite of the tribunes in getting Fabius and himself elected.

[IV—VII. 6. B.C. 210. *Affairs in Rome.*]

9 id bono publico fieret, profecto nunquam sisset. his orationibus cum diu certatum esset, postremo ita inter dictatorem ac tribunos convenit, ut eo, quod censuisset senatus, staretur. patribus id tempus rei publicae visum est, ut per veteres et expertos bellique peritos imperatores res publica gereretur; itaque moram fieri comitiis non placere. concedentibus tribunis comitia habita; declarati consules Q. Fabius Maximus quintum Q. Fulvius Flaccus quartum. praetores inde creati L. Veturius Philo, T. Quinctius Crispinus, C. Hostilius Tubulus, C. Aurunculeius. magistratibus in annum creatis Q. Fulvius dictatura se abdicavit.

13 Extremo aetatis huius classis Punica navium quadraginta cum praefecto Hamilcare in Sardiniam traiecta Olbiensem primo, dein, postquam ibi Attacks on Sardinia by the Carthaginian fleet. P. Manlius Volso praetor cum exercitu apparuit, circumacta inde ad alterum insulae latus, Caralitanum agrum vastavit et cum praeda omnis generis in Africam redit.

15 Sacerdotes Romani eo anno mortui aliquot suffectique: Appointment of religious officials. C. Servilius pontifex factus in locum T. Otacili Crassi, Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. Longus augur [factus in locum T. Otacili Crassi]; decemvir item sacris faciundis in locum Ti. Semproni C. f. Longi Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. Longus suffectus. M. Marcius rex sacrorum mortuus est et M. Aemilius Papus maximus curio; neque in eorum locum sacerdotes eo anno suffecti.

17 Et censores hic annus habuit, L. Veturium Philonem et Two censors appointed, but one dies and the other resigns. P. Licinium Crassum, maximum pontificem. Crassus Licinius nec consul nec praetor ante fuerat quam censor est factus; ex aedilitate

[IV—VII. 6. B.C. 210. *Affairs in Rome.*]

gradum ad censuram fecit. sed ii censores neque senatum 18  
 legerunt neque quicquam publicae rei egerunt: mors dire-  
 mit L. Veturi; inde et Licinius censura se abdicavit.  
 aediles curules L. Veturius et P. Licinius Varus ludos 19  
 5 Romanos diem unum instaurarunt. aediles plebei Q. Cadius  
 et L. Porcius Licinus ex multatio argento signa aenea ad  
 Cereris dedere, et ludos pro temporis eius copia magnifice  
 apparatus fecerunt.

Exitu anni huius C. Laelius legatus Scipionis die quarto 7  
 10 et tricensimo quam a Tarracone profectus  
 erat, Romam venit; isque cum agmine capti-  
 vorum ingressus urbem magnum concursum  
 hominum fecit. postero die in senatum intro-  
 ductus captam Carthaginem, caput Hispaniae,  
 15 uno die, receptasque aliquot urbes, quae de-  
 fecissent, novasque in societatem adscitas exposuit. ex 3  
 captivis comperta iis fere congruentia, quae in litteris  
 fuerant M. Valerii Messallae. maxime movit patres Has-  
 drubalis transitus in Italiam, vix Hannibali atque eius  
 20 armis obsistentem. productus et in contionem Laelius 4  
 eadem edisseruit. senatus ob res feliciter a P. Scipione  
 gestas supplicationem in unum diem decrevit; C. Laelium  
 primo quoque tempore cum quibus venerat navibus redire  
 in Hispaniam iussit. Carthaginis expugnationem in hunc 5  
 25 annum contuli multis auctoribus, haud nescius  
 quosdam esse, qui anno insequenti captam  
 tradiderint, quod mihi minus simile veri visum  
 est annum integrum Scipionem nihil gerundo in Hispania  
 consumpsisse.

C. Laelius re-  
 ports the capture  
 of *Nova Car-*  
*thago* and con-  
 firms the news  
 sent by Valerius. 2  
 A *supplicatio* of  
 one day is de-  
 creed.

Some authori-  
 ties place this  
 capture in the  
 next year. 6

[VII. 7—XI. B.C. 209. *Affairs in Rome. The disaffected Colonies.*]

- 7 Q. Fabio Maximo quintum Q. Fulvio Flacco quartum  
 consulibus idibus Martiis, quo die magistratum  
 inierunt, Italia ambobus provincia decreta,  
 regionibus tamen partitum imperium: Fabius  
 ad Tarentum, Fulvius in Lucanis ac Bruttis 5  
 rem gereret. M. Claudio prorogatum in an-  
 num imperium. praetores sortiti provincias,  
 C. Hostilius Tubulus urbanam, L. Veturius  
 Philo peregrinam cum Gallia, T. Quinctius  
 9 Crispinus Capuam, C. Aurunculeius Sardiniam. exercitus 10  
 ita per provincias divisi: Fulvio duae legiones, quas in  
 Sicilia M. Valerius Laevinus haberet, Q. Fabio, quibus in  
 10 Etruria C. Calpurnius praefuisset; urbanus exercitus ut in  
 Etruriam succederet; C. Calpurnius eidem praeeset pro-  
 vinciae exercituique; Capuam exercitumque, quem Q. 15  
 11 Fulvius habuisset, T. Quinctius obtineret; C. Hostilius  
 ab C. Laetorio propraetore provinciam exercitumque, qui  
 tum Arimini erat, acciperet. M. Marcello, quibus consul  
 12 rem gesserat, legiones decretae. M. Valerio cum L. Cincio  
 —iis quoque enim prorogatum in Sicilia imperium—Can- 20  
 nensis exercitus datus, eumque supplere ex militibus, qui  
 13 ex legionibus Cn. Fulvi superessent, iussi. conquisitos  
 eos consules in Siciliam miserunt; additaque eadem  
 militiae ignominia, sub qua Cannenses militabant quique  
 ex praetoris Cn. Fulvi exercitu ob similis iram fugae missi 25  
 14 eo ab senatu fuerant. C. Aurunculeio eadem in Sardinia  
 legiones, quibus P. Manlius Volso eam provinciam obtinu-  
 15 erat, decretae. P. Sulpicio eadem legione eademque classe  
 Macedoniam obtinere iusso prorogatum in annum imperium.  
 triginta quinqueremes ex Sicilia Tarentum ad Q. Fabium 30  
 16 consulem mitti iussae; cetera classe placere praedatum in  
 Africam aut ipsum M. Valerium Laevinum traicere aut

Arrangements  
 for the cam-  
 paign. The sol-  
 diers of Cn. Ful-  
 vius (cf. c. 1) are  
 punished in the  
 8 same way as the  
 soldiers of Cannae  
 and those of the  
 praetor Cn. Ful-  
 vius (cf. xxvi. 1.  
 10).



[VII. 7—XI. B.C. 209. *Affairs in Rome. The disaffected Colonies.*]

mittere seu L. Cincium seu M. Valerium Messallam vellet.  
nec de Hispania quicquam mutatum, nisi quod non in 17  
annum Scipioni Silanoque, sed donec revocati  
ab senatu forent, prorogatum imperium est. The command of Scipio and Silanus in Spain is extended *donec* revocati ab senatu forent.  
5 ita provinciae exercituumque in eum annum  
partita imperia.

Inter maiorum rerum curas comitia maximi curionis, cum 8  
in locum M. Aemili sacerdos crearetur, vetus  
excitaverunt certamen, patriciis negantibus Dispute over the election of *Curio maximus*. 2  
10 C. Mamili Atelli, qui unus ex plebe petebat,  
habendam rationem esse, quia nemo ante eum  
nisi ex patribus id sacerdotium habuisset.  
tribuni appellati ad senatum *rem* reiecerunt; A plebeian elected. C. Valerius Flaccus, *flamen dialis*, reasserts the right of the *flamines* to sit in the Senate. 3  
15 plebe creatus maximus curio C. Mamilius Atellus. et 4  
flaminem Dialem invitum inaugurari coegit P. Licinius  
pontifex maximus C. Valerium Flaccum; decemvir sacris  
faciundis creatus in locum Q. Muci Scaevolae demortui  
C. Laetorius. causam inaugurari coacti flaminis libens 5  
20 reticuissem, ni ex mala fama in bonam vertisset. ob  
adulescentiam neglegentem luxuriosamque C. Flaccus fla-  
men captus a P. Licinio pontifice maximo erat, L. Flacco  
fratri germano cognatisque aliis ob eadem vitia invisus.  
is ut animum eius cura sacrorum et caerimoniarum cepit, 6  
25 ita repente exiit antiquos mores, ut nemo tota iuventute  
haberetur prior nec probatior primoribus patrum, suis  
pariter alienisque, esset. huius famae consensu elatus ad 7  
iustam fiduciam sui rem intermissam per multos annos ob  
indignitatem flaminum priorum repetivit, ut in senatum  
30 introiret. ingressum eum curiam cum L. Licinius praetor 8  
inde eduxisset, tribunos plebis appellavit. flamen vetustum  
ius sacerdotii repetebat: datum id cum toga praetexta et

[VII. 7—XI. B.C. 209. *Affairs in Rome. The disaffected Colonies.*]

9 sella curuli ei flaminio esse. praetor non exoletis vetustate  
annalium exemplis stare ius, sed recentissimae cuiusque  
consuetudinis usu volebat: nec patrum nec avorum me-  
10 moria Dialem quemquam id ius usurpasse. tribuni rem  
inertia flaminum obliteratedam ipsis, non sacerdotio damno 5  
fuisse cum aequom censuissent, ne ipso quidem contra  
tendente praetore magno adsensu patrum plebisque flami-  
nem in senatum introduxerunt, omnibus ita existimantibus,  
magis sanctitate vitae quam sacerdotii iure eam rem flami-  
nem obtinuisse.

11 Consules priusquam in provincias irent, duas urbanas  
legiones, in supplementum quantum opus erat  
12 Levyng of sup-plementary sol-  
diers, and dispo-  
sition of troops in  
Italy and Sicily. ceteris exercitibus militum scripserunt. urba-  
num veterem exercitum Fulvius consul C.  
Fulvio Flacco legato—frater hic consulis 15  
erat—in Etruriam dedit ducendum, et legiones quae in  
13 Etruria erant Romam deducendas. et Fabius consul  
reliquias exercitus Fulviani conquisitas—fuere autem ad  
quattuor milia trecenti quadraginta quattuor—Q. Maximum  
filium ducere in Siciliam ad M. Valerium proconsulem 20  
iussit atque ab eo duas legiones et triginta quinqueres  
14 accipere. nihil eae ductae ex insula legiones minuerunt  
15 nec viribus nec specie eius provinciae praesidium. nam  
cum praeter egregie suppletas duas veteres legiones trans-  
fugarum etiam Numidarum equitum peditumque magnam 25  
vim haberet, Siculos quoque, qui in exercitu Epicydis aut  
16 Poenorum fuerant, belli peritos viros, milites scripsit. ea  
externa auxilia cum singulis Romanis legionibus adiunxisset,  
17 duorum speciem exercituum servavit: altero L. Cincium  
partem insulae, qua regnum Hieronis fuerat, tueri iussit; 30  
altero ipse ceteram insulam tuebatur, divisam quondam  
Romani Punicique imperii finibus, classe quoque septua-

[VII. 7—XI. B.C. 209. *Affairs in Rome. The disaffected Colonies.*]  
 ginta navium partita, ut omni ambitu litorum praesidia orae  
 maritumae essent. ipse cum Muttinis equitatu provinciam 18  
 peragrabat, ut viseret agros cultaque ab incultis notaret et  
 perinde dominos laudaret castigaretque. ita tantum ea 19  
 5 cura frumenti provenit, ut et Romam mitteret, et Catinam  
 conveheret, unde exercitui, qui ad Tarentum aestiva acturus  
 esset, posset praeberi.

Ceterum transportati milites in Siciliam—et erant 9  
 maior pars Latini nominis sociorumque—  
 10 prope magni motus causa fuere: adeo ex-  
 parvis saepe magnarum momenta rerum pen-  
 dent. fremitus enim inter Latinos sociosque  
 in conciliis ortus, decimum annum dilectibus,  
 stipendiis se exhaustos esse; quotannis ferme  
 15 clade magna pugnare; alios in acie occidi,  
 alios morbo absumi; magis perire sibi civem,  
 qui ab Romano miles lectus sit, quam qui ab  
 Poeno captus: quippe ab hoste gratis remitti  
 in patriam, ab Romanis extra Italiam in exilium verius  
 20 quam in militiam ablegari. octavum iam ibi annum sene-  
 scere Cannensem militem, moriturum ante, quam Italia  
 hostis, quippe nunc cum maxime florens viribus, excedat,  
 si veteres milites non redeant in patriam, novi legantur,  
 brevi neminem superfuturum. itaque, quod propediem res 5  
 25 ipsa negatura sit, priusquam ad ultimam solitudinem atque  
 egestatem perveniant, negandum populo Romano esse. si 6  
 consentientes in hoc socios videant Romani, profecto de  
 pace cum Carthaginiensibus iungenda cogitaturos; aliter  
 numquam vivo Hannibale sine bello Italiam fore. haec  
 30 acta in conciliis. triginta tum coloniae populi Romani 7  
 erant; ex iis duodecim, cum omnium legationes Romae  
 essent, negaverunt consulibus esse, unde milites pecu-

The expatriation of the Fulvian soldiers, a large proportion of whom were 2  
 Latins, is the immediate cause of twelve Latin Colonies through their deputies 3  
 then at Rome refusing further assistance in the war.

[VII. 7—XI. B.C. 209. *Affairs in Rome. The disaffected Colonies.*]  
 niamque darent. eae fuere Ardea Nepete Sutrium Alba  
 Carseoli Cora Suessa Cercei Setia Cales Narnia Interamna.

8 nova re consules icti cum abstertere eos a tam detestabili  
 consilio vellent, castigando increpandoque plus quam  
 leniter agendo profecturos rati, eos ausos esse consulibus 5  
 9 dicere aiebant, quod consules ut in senatu pronuntiarent in  
 animum inducere non possent: non enim detractationem  
 eam numerum militiae sed apertam defectionem a populo  
 10 Romano esse. redirent itaque propere in colonias, et  
 tamquam integra re, locuti magis quam ausi tantum nefas, 10  
 cum suis consulerent; admonerent non Campanos neque  
 11 Tarentinos esse eos sed Romanos; inde oriundos, inde in  
 colonias atque in agrum bello ~~captum~~ stirpis augendae  
 causa missos; quae liberi parentibus deberent, ea illos  
 Romanis debere, si ulla pietas, si memoria antiquae patriae 15  
 12 esset. consulerent igitur de integro: nam tum quidem  
 quae temere agitassent, ea prodendi imperii Romani,  
 13 tradendae Hannibali victoriae esse. cum alternis haec  
 consules diu iactassent, nihil moti legati neque se, quod  
 domum renuntiarent, habere dixerunt, neque senatum suum, 20  
 quod novi consuleret, ubi nec miles, qui legeretur, nec  
 14 pecunia, quae daretur in stipendium, esset. cum obstinatos  
 eos viderent consules, rem ad senatum detulerunt, ubi  
 tantus pavor animis hominum est iniectus, ut magna pars  
 actum de imperio dicerent: idem alias colonias facturas, 25  
 idem socios; consensisse omnis ad prodendam Hannibali  
 10 urbem Romanam. Consules hortari et consolari senatum

The deputies  
 of the other eigh-  
 teen colonies de-  
 clare their readi-  
 ness to furnish  
 contingents as  
 2 usual, and more

et dicere alias colonias in fide atque officio  
 pristino fore: eas quoque ipsas, quae officio  
 decesserint, si legati circa eas colonias mit- 30  
 tantur, qui castigent, non qui precentur,  
 verecundiam imperii habituras esse. permis-

[VII. 7—XI. B.C. 209. *Affairs in Rome. The disaffected Colonies.*]

sum ab senatu iis cum esset, agerent facerent- que, ut e re publica ducerent, pertemptatis prius aliarum coloniarum animis citaverunt legatos quaesiveruntque ab iis, ecquid milites ex formula

if required. They are publicly thanked. The twelve colonies are ignored.

5 paratos haberent. pro duodeviginti coloniis M. Sextilius 3  
Fregellanus respondit et milites ex formula paratos esse, et  
si pluribus opus esset, plures daturos, et, quidquid aliud 4  
imperaret velletque populus Romanus, <sup>habeat</sup> ~~enixe~~ facturos: ad  
id sibi neque opes deesse et animum etiam superesse.  
10 consules parum sibi videri praefati pro merito eorum sua 5  
voce conlaudari eos, nisi universi patres iis in curia gratias  
egissent, sequi in senatum eos iusserunt. senatus quam 6  
poterat honoratissimo decreto adlocutus eos mandat consu-  
libus, ut ad populum quoque eos producerent et inter  
15 multa alia praeclara, quae ipsis maioribusque suis praestitis-  
sent, recens etiam meritum eorum in rem publicam comme-  
morarent. ne nunc quidem post tot saecula sileantur 7  
fraudenturve laude sua: Signini fuere et Norbani Sati-  
culanique et Fregellani et Lucerini et Venusini et Brundusini  
20 et Hadriani et Firmani et Ariminenses, et ab altero mari 8  
Pontiani et Paestani et Cosani, et <sup>in Italia</sup> ~~mediterranei~~ Beneventani  
et Aesernini et Spoletini et Placentini et Cremonenses.  
harum coloniarum subsidio tum imperium populi Romani 9  
stetit, iisque gratiae in senatu et apud populum actae.  
25 duodecim aliarum coloniarum, quae detractaverunt im- 10  
perium, mentionem fieri patres vetuerunt, neque illos  
dimitti neque retineri neque appellari a consulibus. ea  
tacita castigatio maxime ex dignitate populi Romani visa  
est.

30 Cetera expedientibus, quae ad bellum opus erant, con- 11  
sulibus aurum vicensimarium, quod in sanc-  
tiore aerario ad ultimos casus servabatur, <sup>The aurum vi-</sup>  
<sup>centisimarium a</sup>

[VII. 7—XI. B.C. 209. *Affairs in Rome. The disaffected Colonies.*]

- 12 fund reserved for extreme need is now drawn out and used. promi placuit. prompta ad quattuor milia pondo auri. inde quingena pondo data consulibus et M. Marcello et P. Sulpicio proconsulibus et L. Veturio praetori, qui Galliam provinciam erat
- 13 sortitus, additumque Fabio consuli centum pondo auri praecipuum, quod in arcem Tarentinam portaretur; cetero auro usi sunt ad vestimenta praesenti pecunia locanda exercitui, qui in Hispania bellum secunda sua fama ducisque
- 11 gerebat. Prodigia quoque, priusquam ab urbe consules proficiscerentur, procurari placuit. in Albano monte tacta de caelo erant signum Iovis arborque templo propinqua, et Ostiae lacus, et Capuae murus Fortunaeque aedis, et Sinuessae murus portaque:
- 2 Prodigies expiated. haec de caelo tacta. cruentam etiam fluxisse aquam Albanam quidam auctores erant; et Romae intus in cella [aedis] Fortis Fortunae de capite signum, quod in corona
- 3 erat, in manum sponte sua prolapsum; et Priverni constat bovem locutum, volturiumque frequenti foro in tabernam devolasse, et Sinuessae natum ambiguo inter
- 4 marem ac feminam sexu infantem, quos androgynos volgus, ut pleraque, faciliore ad duplicanda verba Graeco sermone, appellat, et lacte pluvisse, et cum elephanti capite puerum
- 5 natum. ea prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata, et supplicatio circa omnia pulvinaria et obsecratio in unum diem indicta; et decretum, ut C. Hostilius praetor ludos Apollini, sicut iis annis voti factique erant, voveret faceretque.
- 7 Per eos dies et censoribus creandis Q. Fulvius consul comitia habuit. creati censores, ambo qui nondum consules fuerant, M. Cornelius Cethegus P. Sempronius Tuditanus. ii censores ut agrum Campanum fruendum locarent, ex auctoritate patrum latum ad plebem est,
- 8 Censors elected. Several eligible for the senate and the equites are 'passed over' for misconduct after Cannae.

[VII. 7—XI. B.C. 209. *Affairs in Rome. The disaffected Colonies.*]

plebesque scivit. senatus lectionem contentio  
inter censores de principe legendo tenuit. Equites who served in that battle condemned to lose their public horse and to serve *privatis* equis for the full term (10 years) in Sicily. 9  
Semproni lectio erat; ceterum Cornelius morem  
traditum a patribus sequendum aiebat, ut qui  
5 primus censor ex iis, qui viverent, fuisset, eum  
principem legerent: is T. Manlius Torquatus  
erat; Sempronius, cui di sortem legendi dedissent, ei ius  
liberum eosdem dedisse deos; se id suo arbitrio facturum  
lecturumque Q. Fabium Maximum, quem tum principem  
10 Romanae civitatis esse vel Hannibale iudice victurus esset.  
cum diu certatum verbis esset, concedente conlega lectus a 12  
Sempronio princeps in senatu Q. Fabius Maximus consul.  
inde alius lectus senatus octo praeteritis, inter quos M.  
Caecilius Metellus erat, infamis auctor deserendae Italiae  
15 post Cannensem cladem. in equestribus quoque notis 13  
eadem servata causa; sed erant perpauci, quos ea infamia  
attingeret. illis omnibus—et multi erant—adempti equi, 14  
qui Cannensium legionum equites in Sicilia erant. addide-  
runt acerbitati etiam tempus, ne praeterita stipendia procede-  
20 rent iis, quae equo publico meruerant, sed dena stipendia  
equis privatis facerent. magnum praeterea numerum eorum 15  
conquisiverunt, qui equo merere deberent; atque ex iis, qui  
principio eius belli septemdecim annos nati fuerant neque  
militaverant, omnis aerarios fecerunt. locaverunt inde refi- 16  
25 cienda, quae circa forum incendio consumpta erant, septem  
tabernas, macellum, atrium regium.

[XII—XVI. B.C. 209. *Campaign in Italy. Capture of Tarentum.*]

Transactis omnibus, quae Romae agenda erant, consules 12  
ad bellum profecti. prior Fulvius praegressus Plan of the 2 campaign.  
Capuam; post paucos dies consecutus Fabius,

[XII—XVI. B.C. 209. *Campaign in Italy. Capture of Tarentum.*]

qui et conlegam coram obtestatus et per litteras Marcellum,  
 ut quam acerrimo bello detinerent Hannibalem, dum ipse  
 3 Tarentum oppugnaret (ea urbe adempta hosti iam undique  
 pulso, nec ubi consisteret, nec quod fidum respiceret  
 habenti, ne [re]morandi quidem causam in Italia fore), 5  
 4 Regium etiam nuntium mittit ad praefectum praesidii,  
 quod ab Laevino consule adversus Bruttios ibi locatum  
 5 erat, octo milia hominum, pars maxima ab Agathyrna, sicut  
 ante dictum est, ex Sicilia traducta, rapto vivere hominum  
 adsuutorum / additi erant Bruttiorum indidem perfugae, et 10  
 6 audacia et audendi omnia necessitatibus pares : hanc manum  
 ad Bruttium primum agrum depopulandum duci iussit, inde  
 ad Cauloneam urbem oppugnandam. imperata non in pigre  
 solum sed etiam avide exsecuti direptis fugatisque cultoribus  
 7 agri summa vi urbem oppugnabant. Marcellus et consulis 15  
 litteris excitus, et quia ita induxerat in animum  
 neminem ducem Romanum tam parem Hanni-  
 bali quam se esse, ubi primum in agris pabuli  
 copia fuit, ex hibernis profectus ad Canusium  
 8 Hannibali occurrit. sollicitabat ad defectionem 20  
 Canusinos Poenus ; ceterum ut adpropinquare  
 Marcellum audivit, castra inde movit. aperta erat regio  
 sine ullis ad insidias latebris ; itaque in loca saltuosa cedere  
 9 inde coepit. Marcellus vestigiis instabat castraque castris  
 conferebat et opere perfecto extemplo in aciem legiones 25  
 educebat. Hannibal <sup>horde</sup> tumatim per equites peditumque  
 iaculatores levia certamina serens casum universae pugnae  
 10 non necessarium ducebat. tractus est tamen ad id, quod  
 vitabat, certamen. nocte praegressum adsequitur locis  
 planis ac patentibus Marcellus ; castra inde ponentem, 30  
 pugnando undique in munitores, operibus prohibet. ita  
 signa conlata pugnatumque totis copiis, et, cum iam nox

Marcellus leaving Venusia follows Hannibal and forces him to give battle. The first engagement is indecisive; in the second Marcellus is defeated.



[XII—XVI. B.C. 209. *Campaign in Italy. Capture of Tarentum.*]  
instaret, Marte aequo discessum est. castra exiguo distantia  
spatio raptim ante noctem permunita.

Postero die luce prima Marcellus in aciem copias eduxit; 11  
nec Hannibal detractavit certamen multis verbis adhortatus  
5 milites, ut memores Trasumenni Cannarumque contunderent  
ferociam hostis: urgere atque instare eum, non iter quietos 12  
facere, non castra ponere pati, non respirare aut circum-  
spicere; cotidie simul orientem solem et Romanam aciem  
in campis videndam esse: si uno proelio haud incruentus 13  
10 abeat, quietius deinde tranquilliusque eum bellaturum.  
his inritati adhortationibus simulque taedio ferociae hostium  
cotidie instantium lacessentiumque acriter proelium ineunt.  
pugnatum amplius duabus horis est; cedere inde ab Ro- 14  
manis dextra ala et extraordinarii coepere. quod ubi  
15 Marcellus vidit, duodevicensimam legionem in primam  
aciem inducit. dum alii trepide cedunt, alii segniter 15  
subeunt, turbata tota acies est, dein prorsus fusa, et vincente  
pudorem metu terga dabant. cecidere in pugna fugaque 16  
ad duo milia et septingenti civium sociorumque; in iis  
20 quattuor Romani centuriones, duo tribuni militum, M.  
Licinius et M. Helvius. signa militaria quattuor de ala, 17  
prima quae fugit, duo de legione, quae cedentibus sociis  
successerat, amissa.

Marcellus, postquam in castra reditum est, contionem 13  
25 adeo saevam atque acerbam apud milites  
habuit, ut proelio per diem totum infeliciter  
tolerato tristior iis irati ducis oratio esset.  
“dis immortalibus, ut in tali re, laudes  
gratesque” inquit “ago, quod victor hostis  
30 cum tanto pavore incidentibus vobis in vallum  
portasque non ipsa castra est adgressus: de-  
seruissetis profecto eodem terrore castra, quo

After a bitter-  
ly reproachful  
speech and after  
disgracing those  
who had shown  
special slackness  
in the fight Mar-  
cellus orders the  
soldiers to be  
ready to fight  
next day.

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3 omisistis pugnam. qui pavor hic, qui terror, quae repente,  
 qui et cum quibus pugnaretis, oblivio animos cepit?  
 nempe idem sunt hi hostes, quos vincendo et victos  
 4 sequendo priorem aestatem absumpsistis, quibus dies noc-  
 tesque fugientibus per hos dies institistis, quos levibus  
 proeliis fatigastis, quos hesterno die nec iter facere nec  
 5 castra ponere passi estis. omitto ea, quibus gloriari potestis;  
 cuius et ipsius pudere ac paenitere vos oportet, referam.  
 nempe aequis manibus hesterno die diremistis pugnam.  
 6 quid haec nox, quid hic dies attulit? vestrae iis copiae  
 inminutae sunt, an illorum auctae? non equidem mihi cum  
 exercitu meo loqui videor, nec cum Romanis militibus; cor-  
 7 pora ~~tantum~~ atque arma eadem sunt. an, si eosdem animos  
 habuissetis, terga vestra vidisset hostis? signa alicui mani-  
 pulo aut cohorti ademisset? adhuc caesis legionibus Ro-  
 8 manis gloriabatur; vos illi hodierno die primum fugati  
 exercitus dedistis decus." clamor inde ortus, ut veniam  
 eius diei daret; ubi vellet deinde, experiretur militum  
 suorum animos. "ego vero experiar" inquit, "milites, et  
 vos crastino die in aciem educam, ut victores potius quam  
 9 victi veniam impetretis quam petitis." cohortibus, quae  
 signa amiserant, hordeum dari iussit, centurionesque mani-  
 pulorum, quorum signa amissa fuerant, dstrictis gladiis  
 discinctos destitui; et, ut postero die omnes, equites pedites,  
 10 armati adessent, edixit. ita contio dimissa fatentium iure  
 ac merito sese increpitos, neque illo die virum quemquam  
 in acie Romana fuisse praeter unum ducem, cui aut morte  
 satisfaciendum aut egregia victoria esset. postero die  
 11 armati ornatique ad edictum aderant. imperator eos con-  
 laudat pronuntiatque, a quibus orta pridie fuga esset, 30  
 cohortes, quaeque signa amisissent, se in primam aciem  
 12 inducturum; edicere iam sese omnibus pugnandum ac

[XII—XVI. B.C. 209. *Campaign in Italy. Capture of Tarentum.*]  
vincendum esse et adnitendum singulis universisque, ne  
prius hesternae fugae quam hodiernae victoriae fama Romam  
perveniat. inde cibo corpora firmare iussi, ut, si longior 13  
pugna esset, viribus sufficerent. ubi omnia dicta factaque  
5 sunt, quibus excitarentur animi militum, in aciem procedunt.

Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, "cum eo nimirum" 14  
inquit "hoste res est, qui nec bonam nec malam ferre fortunam possit! seu vicit, ferociter instat victis; seu victus est, instaurat  
10 cum victoribus certamen." signa inde canere iussit et copias educit. pugnatum utrimque aliquanto quam pridie acrius est, Poenis ad obtinendum hesternum decus adnitentibus,  
Romanis ad demendam ignominiam. sinistra ala ab Ro- 3  
15 manis et cohortes, quae amiserant signa, in prima acie pugnabant, et legio vicensima ab dextro cornu instructa. L. Cornelius Lentulus et C. Claudius Nero legati cornibus 4  
praeerant; Marcellus mediam aciem hortator testisque praesens firmabat. ab Hannibale Hispani primam obtine- 5  
20 bant frontem, et id roboris in omni exercitu erat. cum anceps diu pugna esset, Hannibal elephantos in primam aciem induci iussit, si quem inicere ea res tumultum ac pavorem posset. et primo turbarunt signa ordinesque, et 7  
partim occulcatis partim dissipatis terrore, qui circa erant, 25  
nudaverant una parte aciem, latiusque fuga manasset, ni C. 8  
Decimius Flavius tribunus militum signo arrepto primi hastati manipulum eius signi sequi se iussisset. duxit ubi maxime tumultum conglobatae beluae faciebant, pilaque in eas conici iussit. haesere omnia tela haud difficili ex 9  
30 propinquo in tanta corpora ictu et tum conferta turba. sed ut non omnes vulnerati sunt, ita in quorum tergis infixastetere pila, ut est genus anceps, in fugam versi etiam

The next day in an obstinately contested battle Marcellus is victorious, but with so much loss, that he is quite unable to follow up his victory (cf. c. 20, § 10).

write out  
10 and  
11

[XII—XVI. B.C. 209. Campaign in Italy. Capture of Tarentum.]

- 10 *integros avertere.* tum iam non unus manipulus, sed pro  
 se quisque miles, qui modo adsequi agmen fugientium  
 elephantorum poterat, pila conicere. eo magis ruere in  
 suos beluae tantoque maiorem stragem edere, quam inter  
 hostis ediderant, quanto acrius pavor consternatam agit,  
 11 quam insidentis magistri imperio regitur. in perturbatam  
 transcursu beluarum aciem signa inferunt Romani pedites  
 et haud magno certamine dissipatos <sup>perterritos</sup> ~~trepidantes~~que avertunt.  
 12 tum in fugientes equitatum inmittit Marcellus, nec ante  
 finis sequendi est factus, quam in castra paventes conpulsi  
 13 sunt. nam super alia, quae terrorem trepidationemque  
 facerent, elephantum quoque duo in ipsa porta corruerant,  
 coactique erant milites per fossam vallumque ruere in castra.  
 ibi maxima hostium caedes facta: caesa ad octo milia  
 14 hominum, quinque elephantum. nec Romanis incruenta  
 victoria fuit: mille ferme et septingenti de duabus legio-  
 nibus, et sociorum supra mille et trecentos occisi; vulnerati  
 15 permulti civium sociorumque. Hannibal nocte proxima  
 castra movit; cupientem insequi Marcellum prohibuit mul-  
 16 titudo <sup>invenit</sup> ~~satiocinorum.~~ <sup>speculatores,</sup> qui prosequerentur agmen,  
 missi postero die rettulerunt Bruttios Hannibalem petere.  
 2 Isdem ferme diebus et ad Q. Fulvium consulem Hirpini  
 et Lucani et Volcienes traditis praesidiis  
 Hannibalis, quae in urbibus habebant, dedi-  
 derunt sese, clementerque a consule cum  
 25 verborum tantum castigatione ob errorem  
 praeteritum accepti; et Bruttii similis spes  
 3 veniae facta est, cum ab iis Vibius et Paccius  
 fratres, longe nobilissimi gentis eius, eandem,  
 quae data Lucanis erat, condicionem dedi-  
 30 tionis petentes venissent. Q. Fabius consul oppidum in  
 Sallentinis Manduriam vi cepit. ibi ad tria milia hominum

The Hirpini, Lucani and Volcienes surrendering to Fulvius, are kindly treated. Similar indulgence promised to the Bruttii. Fabius advances to besiege Tarentum by land and sea.

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 capta et ceterae praedae aliquantum. inde Tarentum pro-  
 fectus in ipsis faucibus portus posuit castra. naves, quas 5  
 Livius tutandis <sup>in vias</sup> commeatibus habuerat, partim machina-  
 tionibus onerat apparatuque moenium oppugnandorum,  
 5 partim tormentis et saxis omnique missilium telorum genere  
 instruit, onerarias quoque, non eas solum, quae remis  
 agerentur, ut alii machinas scalasque ad muros ferrent, 6  
 alii procul ex navibus vulnerarent moenium propugnatores.  
 hae naves ut ab aperto mari urbem adgrederentur instructae 7  
 10 parataeque sunt. et erat liberum mare classe Punica, cum  
 Philippus oppugnare Aetolos pararet, Corcyram tramissa.  
 in Bruttiiis interim Cauloneae oppugnatores sub adventum 8  
 Hannibalis, ne opprimerentur, in tumulum a praesenti  
 impetu tutum, ad cetera inopem, concessere.

15 Fabium Tarentum obsidentem leve dictu momentum ad 9  
 rem ingentem potiundam adiuvit. praesidium  
 Bruttiorum datum ab Hannibale Tarentini  
 habebant. eius praesidii praefectus deperibat  
 amore mulierculae, cuius frater in exercitu  
 20 Fabii consulis erat. is certior litteris sororis  
 factus de nova consuetudine advenae locupletis  
 atque inter populares tam honorati, spem nactus per sororem  
 quolibet inPELLI amantem posse, quid speraret ad consulem  
 detulit. quae cum haud vana cogitatio visa esset, pro 11  
 25 perfuga iussus Tarentum transire, ac per sororem praefecto  
 conciliatus, primo occulte temptando animum, dein satis  
 explorata levitate blanditiis muliebribus perpulit eum ad  
 proditionem custodiae loci, cui praepositus erat. ubi et 12  
 ratio agenda rei et tempus convenit, miles nocte per  
 30 intervalla stationum clam ex urbe emissus ea, quae acta  
 erant, quaeque ut agerentur convenerat, ad consulem refert.  
 Fabius vigilia prima dato signo iis, qui in arce erant, quique 13

By good fortune he is able to induce Hannibal's Bruttian commander to betray the city, and admit the Romans.

Admiri-

[XII—XVI. B.C. 209. *Campaign in Italy. Capture of Tarentum.*]

- custodiam portus habebant, ipse circumito portu ab regione  
 14 urbis in orientem versa occultus consedit. canere inde  
 tubae simul ab arce simul a portu et ab navibus, quae ab  
 aperto mari adpulsae erant, clamorque undique cum ingenti  
 tumultu, unde minimum periculi erat, de industria ortus. 5  
 15 consul interim silentio continebat suos. igitur Democrates,  
 qui praefectus antea classis fuerat, forte illo loco praepo-  
 situs, postquam quieta omnia circa se vidit, alias partes eo  
 16 tumultu personare, ut captae urbis interdum excitaretur  
 clamor, veritus, ne inter cunctationem suam consul aliquam 10  
 vim faceret ac signa inferret, praesidium ad arcem, unde  
 17 maxime terribilis accidebat sonus, traducit. Fabius cum et  
 ex temporis spatio et ex silentio ipso, quod, ubi paulo ante  
 strepebant excitantes vocantesque ad arma, inde nulla  
 accidebat vox, deductas custodias sensisset, ferri scalas ad 15  
 eam partem muri, qua Bruttiorum cohortem praesidium  
 18 agitare proditionis conciliator nuntiaverat, iubet. ea primum  
 captus est murus adiuvantibus recipientibusque Bruttiiis, et  
 transcensum in urbem est; inde et proxima refracta porta,  
 19 ut frequenti agmine signa inferrentur. tum clamore sublato 20  
 sub ortum ferme lucis nullo obvio armato in forum per-  
 veniunt, omnesque undique, qui ad arcem portumque  
 pugnabant, in se converterunt.
- 16 Proelium in aditu fori maiore impetu quam perseve-  
 rantia commissum est: non animo, non armis, 25  
 non arte belli, non vigore ac viribus corporis  
 par Romano Tarentinus erat. igitur pilis  
 tantum coniectis, prius paene, quam consere-  
 rent manus, terga dederunt, dilapsique per  
 nota urbis itinera in suas amicorumque domos. 30
- 3 duo ex ducibus Nico et Democrates fortiter pugnantes  
 cecidere; Philemenus, qui proditionis ad Hannibalem

After feeble  
 resistance, the  
 city is captured  
 2 and dismantled,  
 many Carthagi-  
 nians and Brut-  
 tians put to death  
 and enormous  
 booty taken.

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 auctor fuerat, cum citato equo ex proelio auctus esset,  
 vacuus paulo post equus errans per urbem cognitus, corpus 4  
 nusquam inventum est: creditum vulgo est in puteum  
 apertum ex equo praecipitasse. Carthalonem autem, prae- 5  
 5 sfectum Punici praesidii, cum commemoratione paterni  
 hospitii positis armis venientem ad consulem miles obvi-  
 us obtruncat. alii alios passim sine discrimine armatos iner- 6  
 mesque caedunt, Carthaginienses Tarentinosque pariter.  
 Bruttii quoque multi passim interfecti, seu per errorem,  
 10 seu vetere in eos insito odio, seu ad proditionis famam, ut  
 vi potius atque armis captum Tarentum videretur, extin-  
 guendam. tum ab caede ad diripiendam urbem discursum. 7  
 triginta milia servilium capitum dicuntur capta, ingens argenti  
 vis facti signatique, auri octoginta tria milia pondo, signa  
 15 ac tabulae, prope ut Syracusarum ornamenta aequaverint.  
 sed maiore animo generis eius praeda abstinuit Fabius quam 8  
 Marcellus; qui interroganti scriba, quid fieri signis vellet  
 ingentis magnitudinis—di sunt, suo quisque habitu in  
 modum pugnantium formati—, deos iratos Tarentinis relin-  
 20 qui iussit. murus inde, qui urbem ab arce dirimebat, 9  
 dirutus est ac disiectus.

Dum haec Tarenti aguntur, Hannibal, iis, qui Cauloneam  
 obsidebant, in deditionem acceptis, audita 10  
 oppugnatione Tarenti dies noctesque cursim  
 25 agmine acto, cum festinans ad opem ferendam  
 captam urbem audisset, "et Romani suum  
 Hannibalem" inquit "habent: eadem qua  
 ceperamus arte Tarentum amisimus." ne  
 tamen fugientis modo convertisse agmen vide- 11  
 30 retur, quo constiterat loco, quinque milia  
 ferme ab urbe posuit castra. ibi paucos  
 moratus dies Metapontum sese recepit. inde 12

10  
 I I  
 I 2

Meanwhile Hannibal having obliged the besiegers of Caulonea (cf. 15 § 7) to surrender and hastening to Tarentum hears of its capture. Retiring to Metapontum he seeks to draw Fabius into an ambuscade, but fails.

[XII—XVI. B.C. 209. *Campaign in Italy. Capture of Tarentum.*]  
 duos Metapontinos cum litteris principum eius civitatis ad  
 Fabium Tarentum mittit, fidem ab consule accepturos in-  
 13 punita iis priora fore, si Metapontum cum praesidio Punico  
 qua accessurus esset Metapontum, constituit litterasque ad 5  
 14 principes dedit, quae ad Hannibalem delatae sunt. enim-  
 vero laetus successu fraudis, si ne Fabius quidem dolo <sup>decent</sup>  
 invictus fuisset, haud procul Metaponto insidias ponit,  
 15 Fabio auspicienti, priusquam egrederetur ab Tarento, aves  
 semel atque iterum non addixerunt; hostia quoque caesa 10  
 consulenti deos haruspex cavendum a fraude hostili et ab  
 16 insidiis praedixit. Metapontini, postquam ad constitutam  
 non venerat diem, remissi, ut cunctantem hortarentur, ac  
 repente comprehensi metu gravioris quaestionis detegunt  
 insidias. 15

[XVII—XX. 8. B.C. 209. *Scipio in Spain.*]

17 Aestatis eius principio, qua haec agebantur, P. Scipio in  
 Hispania cum hiemem totam reconciliandis  
 barbarorum animis partim donis partim remis-  
 sione obsidum captivorumque absumpsisset,  
 Edesco ad eum clarus inter duces Hispanos 20  
 2 Hasdrubal alone. venit. erant coniunx liberique eius apud  
 Romanos; sed praeter eam causam etiam velut fortuita  
 inclinatio animorum, quae Hispaniam omnem averterat ad  
 3 Romanum a Punico imperio, traxit eum. eadem causa  
 Indibili Mandonioque fuit, haud dubie omnis Hispaniae 25  
 principibus, cum omni popularium manu relicto Hasdrubale  
 secedendi in imminentes castris eius tumulos, unde per  
 4 continentia iuga tutus receptus ad Romanos esset. Hasdru-  
 bal, cum hostium res tantis augescere incrementis cerneret,



[XVII—XX. 8. B.C. 209. *Scipio in Spain.*]

suas imminui, ac fore ut, nisi audendo aliquid moveret, qua  
 coepissent, fluerent, dimicare quam primum statuit. Sci- 5  
 pio avidior etiam certaminis erat, cum a spe, quam successus  
 rerum augebat, tum quod, priusquam iungerentur hostium  
 5 exercitus, cum uno dimicare duce exercituque, quam simul  
 cum universis malebat. ceterum, etiamsi cum pluribus 6  
 pariter dimicandum foret, arte quadam copias auxerat.  
 nam cum videret nullum esse navium usum, quia vacua  
 omnis Hispaniae ora classibus Punicis erat, subductis  
 10 navibus Tarracone navales socios terrestribus copiis addidit.  
 et armorum adfatim erat *et* captorum Carthagine et quae 7  
 post captam eam fecerat tanto opificum numero incluso.  
 cum iis copiis Scipio veris principio ab Tarracone egressus 8  
 —iam enim et Laelius redierat ab Roma, sine quo nihil  
 15 maioris rei motum volebat—ducere ad hostem pergit. per 9  
 omnia pacata eunti, ut cuiusque populi fines  
 transiret, prosequentibus excipientibusque so-  
 ciis, Indibilis et Mandonius cum suis copiis  
 20 occurrerunt. Indibilis <sup>for. l. 11.</sup> *pr̄* utroque locutus, On his way  
he meets Indibi-  
lis and Mando-  
nius, two desert-  
ing chieftains.  
Speech of Indibi- 10  
lis.  
 haudquaquam *ut* barbarus stolidè incauteve,  
 sed potius cum verecundia *ac* gravitate propiorque excu-  
 santi transitionem ut necessariam, quam glorianti eam velut  
 primam occasionem raptam : scire enim se transfugae nomen 11  
 execrabile veteribus sociis, novis suspectum esse ; neque  
 25 eum se reprehendere morem hominum, si tamen anceps  
 odium causa, non nomen faciat. merita inde sua in duces 12  
 Carthaginiensis commemoravit, avaritiam contra eorum  
 superbiamque et omnis generis iniurias in se atque popu-  
 lares. itaque corpus dumtaxat suum ad id tempus apud 13  
 30 eos fuisse ; animum iam pridem ibi esse, ubi ius ac fas  
 crederent coli. ad deos quoque confugere supplices, qui  
 nequeant hominum vim atque iniurias pati : se id Scipionem 14

[XVII—XX. 8. B.C. 209. *Scipio in Spain.*]

- orare, ut transitio sibi nec fraudi apud eum nec honori sit;  
 quales ex ea die experiundo cognorit, perinde operae eorum  
 15 pretium faceret. ita prorsus respondet facturum Romanus,  
 nec pro transfugis habiturum, qui non duxerint societatem  
 ratam, ubi nec divini quicquam nec humani sanctum esset. 5
- 16 productae deinde in conspectum iis coniuges  
 liberique lacrumantibus gaudio redduntur.  
 17 atque eo die in hospitium abducti; postero  
 die foedere accepta fides, dimissique ad copias  
 adducendas. isdem deinde castris tendebant, 10  
 donec ducibus iis ad hostem perventum est.
- 18 Proximus Carthaginiensium exercitus Hasdrubalis prope  
 2 urbem Baeculam erat. pro castris equitum  
 Hasdrubalis's camp near Baecula. The latter during the night posts his army in a strong position, which the Romans next day attack and force, winning a complete victory. 3  
 stationes habebant. in eas velites antesignaniquae et qui primi agminis erant, advenientes ex 15  
 itinere, priusquam castris locum caperent, adeo contemptim impetum fecerunt, ut facile appareret, quid utrique parti animorum esset.  
 3 in castra trepida fuga compulsi equites sunt, signaque Romana portis prope ipsis inlata. 20  
 4 atque illo quidem die inritatis tantum ad certamen animis  
 5 castra Romani posuerunt. nocte Hasdrubal in tumulum  
 copias recipit plano campo in summo patentem; fluvius ab tergo, ante circaque velut ripa praeceps oram eius omnem  
 6 cingebat. suberat et altera inferior summissa fastigio planities; eam quoque altera crepido haud faciliori ascensu 25  
 7 ambibat. in hunc inferiorem campum postero die Hasdrubal, postquam stantem pro castris hostium aciem vidit, equites Numidas leviumque armorum Baliares et Afros  
 8 demisit. Scipio, circumvectus ordines signaque, ostendebat 30  
 hostem, praedamnata spe aequo dimicandi campo captantem tumulos, loci fiducia, non virtutis aut armorum stare in

[XVII—XX. 8. B.C. 209. *Scipio in Spain.*]

conspectu; sed altiora moenia habuisse Carthaginem, quae  
 transcendisset miles Romanus; nec tumulos, nec arcem, ne 9  
 mare quidem armis obtitisse suis. ad id fore altitudines,  
 quas cepissent hostes, ut per praecipitia et praeupta sali-  
 5 entes fugerent; eam quoque se illis fugam clausurum.  
 cohortesque duas alteram tenere fauces vallis, per quam 10  
 deferretur amnis, iubet, alteram viam insidere, quae ab  
 urbe per tumuli obliqua in agros ferret. ipse expeditos,  
 qui pridie stationes hostium pepulerant, ad levem armaturam  
 10 infimo stantem supercilio ducit. per aspreta primum, nihil 11  
 aliud quam via impediti, iere. deinde, ut sub ictum  
 venerunt, telorum primo omnis generis vis ingens effusa in  
 eos est, ipsi contra saxa, quae locus strata passim, omnia 12  
 ferme missilia, praebet, ingerere, non milites solum sed etiam  
 15 turba calonum inmixta armatis. ceterum quamquam ascen- 13  
 sus difficilis erat, et prope obruebantur telis saxisque,  
 adsuetudine tamen succedendi muros et pertinacia animi  
 subierunt primi. qui simul cepere aliquid aequi loci, ubi 14  
 firmo consisterent gradu, levem et concursatorem hostem  
 20 atque intervallo tutum, cum procul missilibus pugna eluditur,  
 instabilem eundem ad comminus conserendas manus, expu-  
 lerunt loco, et cum caede magna in aciem altiori super-  
 stantem tumulo inpegere. inde Scipio iussis adversus 15  
 mediam evadere aciem victoribus ceteras copias cum Laelio  
 25 dividit, atque eum parte dextra tumuli circumire, donec  
 mollioris ascensus viam inveniret, iubet; ipse ab laeva  
 circumitu haud magno in transversos hostis incurrit. inde 16  
 primo turbata acies est, dum ad circumsonantem undique  
 clamorem flectere cornua et obvertere ordines volunt. hoc 17  
 30 tumultu et Laelius subiit, et, dum pedem referunt, ne ab  
 tergo vulnerarentur, laxata prima acies locusque ad evaden-  
 dum et mediis datus est, qui per tam iniquum locum 18

[XVII—XX. 8. B.C. 209. *Scipio in Spain.*]

stantibus integris ordinibus elephantisque ante signa locatis  
 19 numquam evasissent. cum ab omni parte caedes fieret,  
 Scipio, qui laevo cornu in dextrum incucurrerat, maxime in  
 20 nuda latera hostium pugnabat. et iam ne fugae quidem  
 patebat locus: nam et stationes utrimque Romanae dextra 5  
 laevaue insederant vias, et porta castrorum ducis princi-  
 pumque fuga clausa erat, addita trepidatione elephantorum,  
 quos territos aequae atque hostes timebant. caesa igitur ad  
 octo milia hominum.

19 Hasdrubal iam antequam dimicaret pecunia rapta ele- 10  
 phantisque praemissis, quam plurimos poterat  
 de fuga excipiens praeter Tagum flumen ad  
 Pyrenaeum tendit. Scipio castris hostium  
 2 potitus, cum praeter libera capita omnem  
 praedam militibus concessisset, in recensendis 15  
 captivis decem milia peditum, duo milia equitum invenit.  
 ex iis Hispanos sine pretio omnes domum dimisit, Afros  
 3 vendere quaestorem iussit. circumfusa inde multitudo  
 Hispanorum et ante deditorum et pridie captorum regem  
 4 eum ingenti consensu appellavit. tum Scipio silentio per 20  
 praeconem facto sibi maximum nomen imperatoris esse  
 5 dixit, quo se milites sui appellassent; regium nomen, alibi  
 magnum, Romae intolerabile esse. regalem animum in  
 se esse; si id in hominis ingenio amplissimum ducerent,  
 6 tacite iudicarent, vocis usurpatione abstinerent. sensere 25  
 etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cuius miraculo nomi-  
 nis alii mortales stuperent, id ex tam alto fastigio asper-  
 nantis.

7 Dona inde regulis principibusque Hispanorum divisa,  
 et ex magna copia captorum equorum trecentos, quos 30  
 8 vellet, eligere Indibilem iussit. cum Afros venderet iussu  
 imperatoris quaestor, puerum adultum inter eos forma

[XVII—XX. 8. B.C. 209. *Scipio in Spain.*]

insigni cum audisset regii generis esse, ad Scipionem  
 misit. quem cum percunctaretur Scipio, quis  
 et cuias et cur id aetatis in castris fuisset, Numidam esse se ait, Massivam populares

The story of 9  
 Massiva, nephew  
 of Masinissa.

5 vocare; orbum a patre relictum, apud maternum avum Ga-  
 lam, regem Numidarum, educatum, cum avunculo Masinissa,  
 qui nuper cum equitatu subsidio Carthaginiensibus venisset,  
 in Hispaniam traecisse. prohibitum propter aetatem a 10  
 Masinissa numquam ante proelium inisse; eo die, quo  
 10 pugnatum cum Romanis esset, inscio avunculo, clam armis  
 equoque sumpto in aciem exisse; ibi prolapsus equo effusus 11  
 in praeceps captum ab Romanis esse. Scipio cum adser-  
 vari Numidam iussisset, quae pro tribunali agenda erant,  
 peragit; inde cum se in praetorium recepisset, vocatum  
 15 eum interrogat, velletne ad Masinissam reverti. cum effusis 12  
 gaudio lacrimis cupere vero diceret, tum puero anulum  
 aureum, tunicam lato clavo cum Hispano sagulo et aurea  
 fibula equumque ornatum donat, iussisque prosequi, quoad  
 vellet, equitibus dimisit.

20 De bello inde consilium habitum. et auctoribus quibus- 20

dam, ut confestim Hasdrubalem conseque-  
 retur, anceps id ratus, ne Mago atque alter  
 Hasdrubal cum eo iungerent copias, praesidio  
 tantum ad insidendum Pyrenaeum misso ipse  
 25 reliquum aetatis recipiendis in fidem Hispan-  
 aiae populis absumpsit. paucis post proelium  
 factum ad Baeculam diebus, cum Scipio re-  
 diens iam Tarraconem saltu Castulonensi  
 excessisset, Hasdrubal, Gisgonis filius et Mago imperatores

Scipio deter-  
 mines not to fol- 2  
 low Hasdrubal  
 (cf. c. 29 § 1) but  
 sends a force 'to  
 occupy the Pyre-  
 nees.' Confer-  
 ence of the Car-  
 thaginian gene-  
 rals and their  
 plans.

30 ex ulteriore Hispania ad Hasdrubalem venere, serum post  
 male gestam rem auxilium, consilio in cetera exsequendi  
 belli haud parum opportuni. ibi conferentibus, quid in 4

[XVII—XX. 8. B.C. 209. *Scipio in Spain.*]

cuiusque provincia et regione animorum Hispanis esset, unus Hasdrubal Gisgonis ultimam Hispaniae oram, quae ad Oceanum et Gadis vergit, ignaram adhuc Romanorum esse, eoque Carthaginensibus satis fidam censebat; inter Hasdrubalem alterum et Magonem constabat beneficiis Scipionis occupatos omnium animos publice privatimque esse, nec transitionibus finem ante fore, quam omnes Hispani milites aut in ultima Hispaniae amoti aut traducti in Galliam forent. Itaque, etiam si senatus Carthaginensium commississet, eundum tamen Hasdrubali fuisse in Italiam, ubi belli capti, et, simul ut Hispanos omnes procul ab nona Hispania abduceret: 7 exercitum eius cum transitionibus tum adverso proelio imminutum Hispanis repleri militibus, et Magonem Hasdrubali Gisgonis filio tradito exercitu ipsum cum grandi pecunia ad conducenda mercede auxilia in Baliaris traicere; 8 Hasdrubalem Gisgonis cum exercitu peritus in Lusitaniam abire nec cum Romano manus conserere; Masinissae ex omni equitatu, quod roboris esset, tria milia equitum expleri, eumque vagum per citeriorem Hispaniam sociis opem ferre, hostium oppida atque agros populari. his decretis, ad exsequenda quae statuerant duces digressi. haec eo anno in Hispania acta.

[XX. 9—XXI. B.C. 209. *Elections at Rome. Marcellus and his accusers.*]

9 Romae fama Scipionis in dies crescere, Fabio Tarentum captum <sup>asta</sup> magis quam virtute gloriae tamen esse, Fulvi senescere fama, Marcellus etiam adverso rumore esse, superquam quod primo male pugnaverat, quia vagante per Italiam

10 <sup>Proposal to deprive Marcellus of his command. The people hearing his defence elect him consul.</sup>

[XX. 9—XXI. B.C. 109. *Elections at Rome. Marcellus and his accusers.*]

Hannibale media aestate Venusiam in tecta milites abduxisset. inimicus erat ei C. Publicius Bibulus tribunus plebis. is iam a prima pugna, quae adversa fuerat, adsiduis contionibus infamem invisumque plebei Claudium fecerat, et iam de imperio abrogando eius agebat, cum tamen Claudii obtinuerunt, ut relicto Venusiae legato Marcellus Romam veniret ad purganda ea, quae inimici obicerent, nec de imperio eius abrogando absente ipso ageretur. forte sub idem tempus et Marcellus ad deprecandam ignominiam et Q. Fulvius consul comitiorum causa Romam venit. Actum de imperio Marcelli in circo Flamini est ingenti concursu plebisque et omnium ordinum; accusavitque tribunus plebis non Marcellum modo sed omnem nobilitatem: fraude eorum et contumacitate fieri, ut Hannibal decimum iam annum Italiam provinciam habeat, diutius ibi quam Carthagine vixerit. habere fructum imperi prorogati Marcello populum Romanum: his caesum exercitum eius aestiva Venusiae sub tectis hanc tribuni orationem ita obruit Marcellus commemoratione rerum suarum, ut non rogatio solum de imperio eius abrogando antiquaretur, sed postero die consulem eum ingenti consensu centuriae omnes crearent. additur collega T. Quinctius Crispinus, qui tum praetor erat. postero die praetores creati. Licinius Crassus Dives, pontifex maximus, P. Licinius Varus, Sex. Iulius Caesar, Q. Claudius Flamen. Comitiorum ipsorum diebus sollicita civitas de Etruriae defectione fuit. principium eius rei ab Arretinis fieri C. Calpurnius scripserat, qui eam provinciam pro praetore obtinebat. itaque confestim eo missus Marcellus consul designatus, qui rem inspiceret, ac, si digna videretur, exer-

Other elections. Disquieting news from Arretium, and mission of Marcellus thither. I I

Summ. 11. 205

[XX. 9—XXI. B.C. 209. *Elections at Rome. Marcellus and his accusers.*]

citu accito bellum ex Apulia in Etruriam transferret. eo  
 8 metu compressi Etrusci quieverunt. Tarentinorum legatis  
 pacem petentibus cum libertate ac legibus suis responsum  
 ab senatu est, ut redirent, cum Fabius consul Romam  
 9 venisset.—Ludi et Romani et plebei eo anno in singulos  
 dies ~~instaurati~~ aediles curules fuere L. Cornelius Caudinus  
 et Ser. Sulpicius Galba, plebei C. Servilius et Q. Caecilius  
 10 Metellus. Servilium negabant iure aut tribunum plebis  
 fuisse aut aedilem esse, quod patrem eius, quem triumvirum  
 agrarium occisum a Boiis circa Mutinam esse opinio per  
 decem annos fuerat, vivere atque in hostium potestate esse  
 satis constabat.

[XXII—XXIII. B.C. 208. *Arrangements for Campaign. Prodigies.*]

22

Undecimo anno Punici belli consulatum inierunt M.

Vigorous pre-  
 parations for car-  
 rying on the war  
 by land and sea.  
 Twenty-one le-  
 gions and four  
 fleets to be em-  
 ployed.

Marcellus quintum—ut numeretur consulatus,  
 quem vicio creatus non gessit—et T. Quintius 15  
 Crispinus. utrisque consulibus Italia decreta  
 provincia est et duo consulum prioris anni  
 exercitus—tertius Venusiae tum erat, cui Mar-  
 cellus praefuerat—ita ut ex tribus eligerent  
 duo, quos vellent, tertius ei traderetur, cui Tarentum et 20  
 3 Sallentini provincia evenisset. ceterae provinciae ita di-  
 visae: praetoribus P. Licinio Varo urbana, P. Licinio  
 Crasso, pontifici maximo, peregrina et quo senatus cen-  
 suisset, Sex. Iulio Caesari Sicilia, Q. Claudio Flamini Ta-  
 rentum. prorogatum in annum imperium est Q. Fulvio 25  
 Flacco, ut provinciam Capuam, quae T. Quinti praetoris  
 4 fuerat, cum una legione obtineret. prorogatum et C. Hos-



[XXII—XXIII. B.C. 208. *Arrangements for Campaign.  
Prodigies.*]

tilio Tubulo est, ut pro praetore in Etruriam ad duas  
legiones succederet C. Calpurnio. prorogatum et L. Ve- 5  
turio Philoni est, ut pro praetore Galliam eandem pro-  
vinciam cum isdem duabus legionibus obtineret, quibus  
5 praetor obtinuisset. quod in L. Veturio, idem in C. Aurun- 6  
culeio decretum ab senatu latumque de prorogando imperio  
ad populum est, qui praetor Sardiniam provinciam cum  
duabus legionibus obtinuerat. additae ei ad praesidium  
provinciae quinquaginta longae naves, quas P. Scipio ex  
10 Hispania misisset. et P. Scipioni et M. Silano suae His- 7  
paniae suique exercitus in annum decreti; Scipio ex octo-  
ginta navibus, quas aut secum ex Italia adductas aut captas  
Carthagine habebat, quinquaginta in Sardiniam tramittere  
iussus, quia fama erat magnum navalem apparatus eo anno 8  
15 Carthagine esse, ducentis navibus omnem oram Italiae  
Siciliaeque ac Sardiniae inpleturos. et in Sicilia ita divisa 9  
res est: Sex. Caesari exercitus Cannensis datus est; M.  
Valerius Laevinus—ei quoque enim prorogatum imperium  
est—classem, quae ad Siciliam erat, navium septuaginta  
20 obtineret; adderet eo triginta naves, quae ad Tarentum  
prière anno fuerant; cum ea centum navium classe, si  
videretur ei, <sup>to Sulpicio</sup> praedatum in Africam traiceret. et P. Sulpicio, 10  
ut eadem classe Macedoniam Graeciamque provinciam  
haberet, prorogatum in annum imperium est. de duabus,  
25 quae ad urbem Romam fuerant, legionibus nihil mutatum.  
supplementum, quo opus esset, ut scriberent consulibus 11  
permissum. una et viginti legionibus eo anno defensum  
imperium Romanum est. et P. Licinio Varo praetori 12  
urbano negotium datum, ut naves longas triginta veteres  
30 reficeret, quae Ostiae erant, et viginti novas naves sociis  
navalibus conpleret, ut quinquaginta navium classe oram

*Sulpicio  
to senati  
puro*

[XXII—XXIII. B.C. 208. *Arrangements for Campaign. Prodiges.*]

13 maris vicinam urbi Romanae tueri posset. C. Calpurnius  
 vetitus ab Arretio movere exercitum, nisi cum successor  
 venisset; idem et Tubulo imperatum, ut inde praecipue  
 caveret, ne qua nova consilia caperentur.

23 Praetores in provincias profecti; consules religio tene-  
 bat, quod prodigiis aliquot nuntiatis non facile  
 litabant. et ex Campania nuntiata erant,  
 Capuae duas aedes, Fortunae et Martis, et  
 sepulcra aliquot de caelo tacta, Cumis—adeo  
 minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit deos 10  
 —mures in aede Iovis aurum <sup>perdidit</sup> rōsisse, Casini  
 examen <sup>examini</sup> apium ingens in foro consedis-  
 se, Ostiae murum portamque de caelo tactam,  
 Caere vulturium volasse in aedem Iovis, Vul-

4 siniis sanguine lacum manasse. horum prodigiorum causa 15  
 diem unum supplicatio fuit. per dies aliquot hostiae maio-  
 res sine <sup>nullis</sup> litatione caesae, diuque non impetrata pax deum.  
 in capita consulum re publica incolumi exitiabilis prodigi-  
 orum eventus vertit.

5 Ludi Apollinares Q. Fulvio Ap. Claudio consulibus a 20  
 P. Cornelio Sulla praetore urbano primum facti erant; inde  
 omnes deinceps praetores urbani fecerant; sed in unum  
 6 annum vovebant dieque incerta faciebant. eo anno pesti-  
 lentia gravis incidit in urbem agrosque, quae tamen magis  
 7 in longos morbos quam in perniciosos evasit. eius pesti- 25  
 lentiae causa et supplicatum per compita tota urbe est, et  
 P. Licinius Varus praetor urbanus legem ferre ad populum  
 iussus, ut ii ludi in perpetuum in statam diem voverentur.  
 ipse primus ita vovit, fecitque ante diem tertium nonas  
 Quintiles. is dies deinde sollemnis servatus.

[XXIV—XXV. 5. B.C. 208. *Arretium and Tarentum.*]

De Arretinis et fama in dies gravior et cura crescere 24  
 patribus. itaque C. Hostilio scriptum est, ne  
 differret obsides ab Arretinis accipere, et, cui  
 traderet Romam deducendos, C. Terentius  
 5 Varro cum imperio missus. qui ut venit, ex-  
 templo Hostilius legionem unam, quae ante  
 urbem castra habebat, signa in urbem ferre  
 iussit, praesidiaque locis idoneis disposuit;  
 tum in forum citatis senatoribus obsides imperavit. cum 3  
 10 senatus biduum ad considerandum [tempus] peteret, aut ipsos  
 ex templo dare aut se postero die senatorum omnis liberos  
 sumpturum edixit. inde portas custodire iussit tribunos  
 militum praefectosque socium et centuriones, ne quis nocte  
 urbe exiret. id <sup>segrius</sup> negligenterque factum: septem 4  
 15 principes senatus, priusquam custodiae in portis locarentur,  
 ante noctem cum liberis evaserunt. postero die luce prima, 5  
 cum senatus in forum citari coeptus esset, desiderati, bona-  
 que eorum venierunt. a ceteris senatoribus centum viginti  
 obsides, liberi ipsorum, accepti traditque C. Terentio Ro-  
 20 mam deducendi. is omnia suspectiora, quam ante fuerant,  
 in senatu fecit. itaque tamquam imminente Etrusco tu- 6  
 multu legionem unam, alteram ex urbanis, Arretium ducere  
 iussus ipse C. Terentius, eamque habere in praesidio urbis;  
 C. Hostilium cum cetero exercitu placuit totam provinciam 7  
 25 peragrarere et cavere, ne qua occasio novare cupientibus  
 res daretur. C. Terentius ut Arretium cum legione venit, 8  
 claves portarum cum magistratus poposcisset, negantibus  
 iis comparere, fraude amotas magis ratus quam negligentia  
 intercidisse, ipse alias clavis omnibus portis imposuit, cavit-  
 30 que cum cura, ut omnia in potestate sua essent; Hostilium 9  
 intentius monuit, ut in eo spem non moturos quicquam  
 Etruscos poneret, si, ne quid movere possent praecavisset.

The Arretines  
 (cf. c. 21 §6) are  
 required to give  
 hostages. Two  
 legions are sent  
 into Etruria, Ar-  
 retium secured,  
 and precautions  
 taken against a  
 general rising.

*earnestly*

[XXIV—XXV. 5. B.C. 208. *Arretium and Tarentum.*]

25 De Tarentinis inde magna contentione in senatu actum  
 Debate in the Senate on the treatment of Tarentum, and of M. Livius, who lost it. Saying of M. Fabius.

coram Fabio, defendente ipso quos ceperat armis, aliis infensis et plerisque aequantibus eos Campanorum noxae poenaeque. senatus consultum in sententiam M'. Acili factum est, ut oppidum praesidio custodiretur, Tarentini-  
 que omnes intra moenia continerentur, res integra postea  
 3 referretur, cum tranquillior status Italiae esset. et de M. Livio praefecto arcis Tarentinae haud minore certamine actum est, aliis senatus consulto notantibus praefectum, quod eius socordia Tarentum proditum hosti esset, aliis  
 4 praemia decernentibus, quod per quinquennium arcem tutatus esset, maximeque unius eius opera receptum Tarentum foret, mediis ad censores, non ad senatum notionem de eo pertinere dicentibus. cuius sententiae et Fabius fuit; adiecit tamen fateri se opera Livi Tarentum receptum, quod amici eius vulgo in senatu iactassent: neque enim recipiundum fuisse, nisi amissum foret.

[XXV. 6—XXVII. B.C. 208. *Death of Marcellus.*]

6 Consulum alter T. Quinctius Crispinus ad exercitum, quem Q. Fulvius Flaccus habuerat, cum supplemento in Lucanos est profectus. Marcellum aliae atque aliae obiectae animo religiones tenebant, in quibus, quod, cum bello Gallico ad Clastidium aedem Honori et Virtuti vovisset, dedicatio eius a pontificibus impediabatur, quod negabant unam cellam duobus diis recte dedicari, quia, si de caelo tacta aut prodigii aliquid in ea factum esset, difficilis procuratio foret, quod utri deo res divina fieret, sciri non posset: neque enim

[XXV. 6—XXVII. B.C. 208. *Death of Marcellus.*]

duobus nisi certis deis rite una hostia fieri. ita addita  
 Virtutis aedes adproperato opere; neque tamen ab ipso  
 aedes eae dedicatae sunt. tum <sup>at length</sup> ~~denu~~ ad exercitum, quem <sup>is done</sup> 10  
 priore anno Venusiae reliquerat, cum supplemento profi-  
 5 ciscitur.

Locros in Brutiis Crispinus oppugnare conatus, quia 11  
 magnam famam attulisse Fabio Tarentum Crispinus com-  
 rebatur, omne genus tormentorum machina- mences the siege  
 rumque ex Sicilia ~~accessierat~~; et naves indi- of Locri but raises  
 10 dem accitae erant, quae vergentem ad mare it on the approach  
 partem urbis oppugnarent. ea omissa oppug- of Hannibal and  
 natio est, quia Lacinium Hannibal admoverat copias, et joins Marcellus in  
 conlegam eduxisse iam a Venusia exercitum fama erat, Apulia. 12  
 cui coniungi volebat. itaque in Apuliam ex Brutiis re- 13  
 15 ditum, et inter Venusiam Bantiamque minus trium milium  
 passuum intervallo consules binis castris consederunt. in 14  
 eandem regionem et Hannibal redit averso ab Locris bello.  
 ibi consules ambo ingenio feroces prope cotidie in aciem  
 exire haud dubia spe, si duobus exercitibus consularibus  
 20 iunctis commisisset sese hostis, debellari posse. well well

Hannibal quia cum Marcello bis priore anno congressus 26  
 vicerat victusque erat, ut, cum eodem si dimi-  
 candum foret, nec spem nec metum ex vano  
 habebat, ita duobus consulibus haud quaquam  
 25 sese parem futurum credebat. itaque totus in  
 suas artes versus insidiis locum quaerebat.  
 levia tamen proelia inter bina castra vario  
 eventu fiebant; quibus cum extrahi aestatem  
 posse consules cederent, nihilo minus oppugnari Locros  
 30 posse rati, L. Cincio, ut ex Sicilia Locros cum classe  
 traiceret, scribunt, et ut ab terra quoque oppugnari moenia 4  
 possent, ab Tarento partem exercitus, qui in praesidio erat,

Hannibal cuts  
 off a detachment  
 of Romans march-  
 ing from Tarentum  
 to Locri, to  
 recommence the  
 siege in conjunc-  
 tion with the fleet  
 from Sicily. 3

[XXV. 6—XXVII. B.C. 208. *Death of Marcellus.*]

- 5 duci eo iusserunt. ea ita futura, per quosdam Thurinos  
 cōperta Hannibali cum essent, mittit ad insidendam ab  
 Tarento viam. ibi sub tumulto Peteliae tria milia equitum  
 6 duo peditum in occulto locata; in quae inexplorato euntes  
 Romani cum incidissent, ad duo milia armatorum caesa, 5  
 mille et quingenti ferme vivi capti, alii dissipati fuga per  
 agros saltusque Tarentum rediere.
- 7 Tumulus erat silvestris inter Punica et Romana castra,  
 ab neutris primo occupatus, quia Romani,  
 qualis pars eius, quae vergeret ad hostium 10  
 castra, esset, ignorabant, Hannibal insidiis  
 quam castris aptiorem (eum) crediderat. ita-  
 que nocte ad id missas aliquot Numidarum  
 turmas medio in saltu condiderat, quorum  
 interdiu nemo ab statione movebatur, ne aut 15  
 9 arma aut ipsi procul conspicerentur. fremebant vulgo in  
 castris Romanis occupandum eum tumulum esse et castello  
 firmandum, ne, si occupatus ab Hannibale foret, velut in  
 10 cervicibus haberent hostem. movit ea res Marcellum, et  
 conlegae “quū imus” inquit “ipsi cum equitibus paucis 20  
 exploratum? subiecta res oculis nostris certius dabit con-  
 11 silium.” adsentienti Crispino cum equitibus ducentis vi-  
 ginti, ex quibus quadraginta Fregellani, ceteri Etrusci erant,  
 12 proficiscuntur; secuti tribuni militum M. Marcellus consulis  
 filius et A. Manlius, simul et duo praefecti socium L. 25  
 13 Arrenius et M'. Aulius. immolasse eo die quidam prodi-  
 dere memoriae consulem Marcellum, et prima hostia caesa  
 iocur sine capite inventum, in secunda omnia conparuisse,  
 14 quae adsolent, auctum etiam visum in capite; nec id sane  
 haruspici placuisse, quod secundum trunca et turpia exta 30  
 27 nimis laeta apparuissent. Ceterum consulem Marcellum  
 tanta cupiditas tenebat dimicandi cum Hannibale, ut num-

The Roman  
 consuls go out  
 to reconnoitre a  
 wooded hill be-  
 tween the two  
 camps, on which  
 Hannibal has  
 placed Numidi-  
 ans in ambush.

to read into  
 the ...

after ...

...  
 ...

[XXV. 6—XXVII. B.C. 208. *Death of Marcellus.*]

quam satis castra castris conlata crederet. tum The reconnoit- 2  
quoque vallo egrediens signum dedit, ut ad ring party is cut  
locum miles esset paratus, ut, si collis, in quem off by the am-  
speculatum irent, placuisset, vasa colligerent bush. Marcellus  
5 ac sequerentur. exiguum campi ante castra is killed, Cris- 3  
erat; inde in collem aperta undique et conspecta ferebat pinus severely  
via. Numidis speculator, nequaquam in spem tantae rei wounded.  
positus, sed si quos vagos pabuli aut lignorum causa longius  
a castris progressos possent excipere, signum dat, ut pariter  
10 ab suis quisque latebris exorerentur. non ante apparuere, 4  
quibus obviis ab iugo ipso consurgendum erat, quam cir-  
cumiere, qui ab tergo intercluderent viam. tum undique  
omnes exorti et clamore sublato impetum fecere. cum in 5  
ea valle consules essent, ut neque evadere possent in iugum  
15 occupatum ab hoste nec receptum ab tergo circumventi  
haberent, extrahi tamen diutius certamen potuisset, ni  
coepta ab Etruscis fuga pavorem ceteris iniecisset. non 6  
tamen omisere pugnam deserti ab Etruscis Fregellani,  
donec integri consules hortando ipsique ex parte pugnando  
20 rem sustinebant; sed postquam vulneratos ambo consules, 7  
Marcellum etiam transfixum lancea prolabantem ex equo  
moribundum videre, tum et ipsi—perpauci autem supere-  
rant—cum Crispino consule duobus iaculis icto et Marcello  
adulescente saucio et ipso effugerunt. interfectus A. Man- 8  
lius tribunus militum, et ex duobus praefectis socium  
25 M'. Aulius occisus, L. Arrenius captus; et lictores con-  
sulum quinque vivi in hostium potestatem venerunt, ceteri 9  
aut interfecti aut cum consule effugerunt; equitum tres et  
quadraginta aut in proelio aut in fuga ceciderunt, duodevi-  
30 ginti vivi capti. tumultuatum in castris fuerat, ut consulibus 10  
irent subsidio, cum consulem et filium alterius consulis  
saucios exiguasque infelicis expeditionis reliquias ad castra

[XXV. 6—XXVII. B.C. 208. *Death of Marcellus.*]

11 venientes cernunt. mors Marcelli cum alioqui miserabilis fuit, tum quod nec pro aetate—iam enim maior sexaginta annis erat—neque pro veteris prudentia ducis tam improvide se conlegamque et prope totam rem publicam in praeceps dederat.

2 Multos circa unam rem ambitus fecerim, si, quae de  
 13 Marcelli morte variant auctores, omnia exequi velim. ut omittam alios, Coelius triplicem gestae rei memoriam edit: unam traditam fama, alteram scriptam laudatione fili, qui rei gestae interfuerit, tertiam, quam ipse pro inquisita ac  
 14 sibi conperta adfert. ceterum ita fama variat, ut tamen plerique loci speculandi causa castris egressum, omnes insidiis circumventum tradant.

*ambushade*

[XXVIII—XXIX. 8. B.C. 208. *Hannibal outwitted at Salapia.*]

28 Hannibal magnum terrorem hostibus morte consulis unius vulnere alterius iniectum esse ratus, ne  
 cui deesset occasione, castra in tumultum, in  
 quo pugnatum erat, extemplo transfert. ibi  
 2 in his name to inventum Marcelli corpus sepelit. Crispinus, et morte conlegae et suo vulnere territus, silentio insequentis noctis profectus, quos pro-  
 3 ximos nactus est montes, in iis loco alto et tuto undique castra posuit. ibi duo duces sagaciter moti sunt, alter ad inferendam, alter ad cavendam  
 4 fraudem. <sup>anulis</sup> Marcelli simul cum corpore Hannibal potitus erat. eius signi errore ne cui dolus necteretur a  
 5 Poeno metuens, Crispinus circa civitates proximas miserat nuntios, occisum conlegam esse anulisque eius hostem potitum; ne quibus litteris crederent nomine Marcelli

Hannibal getting possession of Marcellus' signets sends a letter in his name to the Salapitani to be in readiness to receive him. They forewarned by Crispinus defeat his scheme.



[XXVIII—XXIX. 8. B.C. 208. *Hannibal outwitted at Salapia.*]

compositis. paulo ante hic nuntius consulis Salapiam vene- 5  
 rat, quam litterae ab Hannibale allatae sunt Marcelli nomine  
 compositae se nocte, quae diem illum secutura esset, Sala-  
 piam venturum: parati milites essent, qui in praesidio  
 5 erant, si quo opera eorum opus esset. sensere Salapitani 6  
 fraudem, et ab ira non defectionis modo sed etiam equitum  
 interfectorum rati occasionem supplicii peti, remisso retro 7  
 nuntio—perfuga autem Romanus erat—; ut sine arbitro  
 milites quae vellent agerent, oppidanos per muros urbisque  
 10 opportuna loca in stationibus disponunt, custodias vigiliis- 8  
 que in eam noctem intentius instruunt, circa portam, qua  
 venturum hostem rebantur, quod roboris in praesidio erat  
 opponunt. Hannibal quarta vigilia ferme ad urbem acces- 9  
 sit. primi agminis erant perfugae Romanorum et arma  
 15 Romana habebant. ii, ubi ad portam est ventum, Latine  
 omnes loquentes excitant vigiles apeririue portam iubent:  
 consulem adesse. vigiles velut ad vocem eorum excitati 10  
 tumultuari, trepidare, <sup>in h. loca</sup> moliri <sup>per</sup> portam. cataracta deiecta  
 clausa erat; eam partim vectibus levant, partim funibus  
 20 subducunt in tantum altitudinis, ut subire recti possent.  
 vixdum satis patebat iter, cum perfugae certatim ruunt 11  
 per portam; et cum sescenti ferme intrassent, remisso  
 fune quo suspensa erat, cataracta magno sonitu cecidit.  
 Salapitani alii perfugas negligenter ex itinere suspensa 12  
 25 umeris, ut inter pacatos, gerentes arma invadunt, alii e  
 turri eius portae murisque saxis sudibus pilis absterrent  
 hostem. ita inde Hannibal suamet ipse fraude captus 13  
 abiit, profectusque ad Locrorum solvendam <sup>Hannibal raises</sup>  
 obsidionem, quam *L. Cincius* summa vi, ope- <sup>the siege of Locri.</sup>  
 30 ribus tormentorumque omni genere ex Sicilia advecto op-  
 pugnat. Magoni iam haud ferme fidenti retenturum de- 14  
 fensurumque se urbem prima spes morte nuntiata Marcelli

[XXVIII—XXIX. 8. B.C. 208. *Hannibal outwitted at Salapia.*]

15 adfulsit. secutus inde nuntius Hannibalem Numidarum  
 equitatu praemisso ipsum, quantum adcelerare posset, cum  
 16 peditum agmine sequi. itaque ubi primum Numidas edito  
 e speculis signo adventare sensit, et ipse patefacta repente  
 porta ferox in hostes erumpit. et primo magis quia inpro- 5  
 viso id fecerat, quam quod par viribus esset, anceps certa-  
 17 men erat; deinde, ut supervenere Numidae, tantus pavor  
 Romanis est iniectus, ut passim ad mare ac naves fugerent  
 relictis operibus machinisque, quibus muros quatiebant.  
 ita adventu Hannibalis soluta Locrorum obsidio est. 10

29 Crispinus postquam in Bruttios profectum Hanniba-  
 lem sensit, exercitum, cui conlega praefue-  
 rat, M. Marcellum tribunum militum Venu-  
 2 siam abducere iussit; ipse cum legionibus  
 suis Capuam profectus, vix lecticae agitationem prae gra- 15  
 vitate vulnerum patiens, Romam litteras de morte con-  
 3 legae scripsit, quantoque ipse in discrimine esset: se co-  
 mitiorum causa non posse Romam venire, quia nec viae  
 laborem passurus videretur et de Tarento sollicitus esset,  
 ne ex Bruttiiis Hannibal eo converteret agmen; legatos 20  
 opus esse ad se mitti, viros prudentes, cum quibus, quae  
 4 vellet, de re publica loqueretur. hae litterae recitatae  
 magnum et luctum morte alterius consulis et metum de  
 altero fecerunt. itaque et Q. Fabium filium ad exercitum  
 Venusiam miserunt, et ad consulem tres legati missi, Sex. 25  
 Iulius Caesar L. Licinius Pollio L. Cincius Alimentus, cum  
 5 paucis ante diebus ex Sicilia redisset. hi nuntiare consuli  
 iussi, ut, si ad comitia ipse venire Romam non posset,  
 dictatorem in agro Romano diceret comitiorum causa;  
 6 si consul Tarentum profectus esset, Q. Claudium prae- 30  
 torem placere in eam regionem inde abducere legiones,  
 in qua plurimas sociorum urbes tueri posset.

Crispinus sends  
 news of the dis-  
 aster in Apulia to

2 Rome.

[XXVIII—XXIX. 8. B.C. 208. *Hannibal outwitted at Salapia.*]

Eadem aestate M. Valerius cum classe centum navium 7  
 ex Sicilia in Africam tramisit et ad Clupeam M. Valerius  
 urbem escensione facta agrum late nullo ferme makes a success-  
 obvio armato vastavit. inde ad naves raptim ful descent on  
 5 praedatores recepti, quia repente fama accidit the coast of A-  
 classem Punicam adventare. octoginta erant et tres naves. frica.  
 cum his haud procul Clupea prospere pugnat Romanus. 8  
 decem et octo navibus captis, fugatis aliis, cum magna  
 terrestri navalique praeda Lilybaeum rediit.

[XXIX. 9—XXXIII. 5. B.C. 208. *Events in Greece.*]

10 Eadem aestate et Philippus implorantibus Achaeis auxi- 9  
 lium tulit, quos et Machanidas tyrannus Lace-  
 daemoniorum finitimo bello urebat, et Aetoli Conflicts be-  
 of Macedonia in-  
 vited by the A-  
 chaeans and the  
 Aetolians. Fruit-  
 less attempts at  
 negotiation. In-  
 terference of At-  
 talus and the  
 Romans.  
 navibus per fretum, quod Naupactum et Patras  
 interfluit—Rhion incolae vocant—, exercitu  
 15 traiecto depopulati erant. Attalum quoque 10  
 regem Asiae, quia Aetoli summum gentis suae  
 magistratum ad eum proximo [annuo] concilio  
 detulerant, fama erat in Europam traiecturum.  
 Ob haec Philippo in Graeciam descendentem ad Lamiam 30  
 20 urbem Aetoli duce Pyrrhia, qui praetor in eum annum  
 cum absente Attalo creatus erat, occurrerunt. habebant 2  
 et ab Attalo auxilia secum et mille ferme ex Romana  
 classe a P. Sulpicio missos. adversus hunc ducem atque  
 has copias Philippus bis prospero eventu pugnavit; mille  
 25 <sup>quinto</sup> admodum hostium utraque pugna occidit. inde cum Aetoli 3  
 metu compulsi Lamiae urbis moenibus tenerent sese, Philip-  
 pus ad Phalara exercitum reduxit. in Maliaco sinu is locus  
 est, quondam frequenter habitatus propter egregium portum

[XXIX. 9—XXXIII. 5. B.C. 208. *Events in Greece.*]

tutasque circa stationes et aliam opportunitatem maritumam  
 4 terrestremque. eo legati ab rege Aegypti Ptolomaeo Rho-  
 diisque et Atheniensibus et Chiis venerunt ad dirimendum  
 inter Philippum atque Aetolos bellum. adhibitus ab Aetolis  
 et ex finitimis pacificator Amynander rex Athamanum. 5  
 5 omnium autem non tanta pro Aetolis cura erat, ferociori  
 quam pro ingeniis Graecorum gente, quam ne Philippus  
 regnumque eius grave libertati futurum rebus Graeciae  
 6 immisceretur. de pace dilata consultatio est in concilium  
 Achaeorum, concilioque ei et locus et dies certa indicta; 10  
 7 interim triginta dierum indutiae impetratae. profectus inde  
 rex per Thessaliam Boeotiamque Chalcidem Euboeae venit,  
 ut Attalum, quem classe Euboeam petiturum audierat,  
 8 portibus et litorum adpulsu arceret. inde praesidio relicto  
 adversus Attalum, si forte interim traicisset, profectus ipse 15  
 9 cum paucis equitum levisque armaturae Argos venit. ibi  
 curatione Heraeorum Nemeorumque suffragiis populi ad  
 eum delata, quia se Macedonum reges ex ea civitate oriundos  
 ferunt, Heraeis peractis ab ipso ludicro extemplo Aegium  
 profectus est ad indictum multo ante sociorum concilium. 20  
 10 Ibi de Aetolico finiendo bello actum, ne causa aut  
 11 Romanis aut Attalo intrandi Graeciam esset. sed ea omnia  
 vixdum indutiarum tempore circumacto Aetoli turbavere,  
 postquam et Attalum Aeginam venisse et Romanam classem  
 12 stare ad Naupactum audivere. vocati enim in concilium 25  
 Achaeorum, in quo et eae legationes erant, quae ad Phalara  
<sup>negotio de pace</sup>  
<sup>conferre</sup>  
 13 fidem conventionis tempore indutiarum facta; postremo  
 negarunt dirimi bellum posse, nisi Messeniis Achaei Pylum  
 redderent, Romanis restitueretur Atintania, Scerdilaedo et 30  
 14 Pleurato Ardiaei. enimvero indignum ratus Philippus victos  
 victori sibi ultro condiciones ferre, ne antea quidem se aut

[XXIX. 9—XXXIII. 5. <sup>Wm</sup> B.C. 208. *Events in Greece.*]

de pace audisse aut indutias pepigisse dixit spem ullam  
 habentem quieturos Aetolos, sed uti omnes socios testes  
 haberet se pacis, illos belli causam quaesisset. ita infecta <sup>peace</sup> 15  
 pace concilium dimisit quattuor milibus armatorum relictis  
 5 ad praesidium Achaeorum et quinque longis navibus acceptis,  
 quas si adiecisset missae nuper ad se classi Carthagini- 16  
 ensium et ex Bithynia ab rege Prusia venientibus navibus,  
 statuerat navali proelio lacessere Romanos iam diu in  
 regione ea potentes maris. ipse ab eo concilio Argos 17  
 10 regressus; iam enim Nemeorum adpetebat tempus, quae  
 celebrari volebat praesentia sua.

Occupato rege apparatu ludorum et per dies festos 31  
 licentius quam inter belli tempora remittente  
 animum P. Sulpicius ab Naupacto profectus  
 15 classem appulit inter Sicyonem et Corinthum,  
 agrumque nobilissimae fertilitatis effuse vasta-  
 vit. fama eius rei Philippum ab ludis excivit;  
 raptimque cum equitatu profectus iussis subse-  
 qui peditibus, palatos passim per agros graves-

A Roman force making descent on the Peloponnesian coast is severely handled by Philip. The Nemean games. Philip's licentious conduct.

20 que praeda, ut qui nihil tale metuerent, adortus Romanos  
 compulit ad naves. classis Romana haudquaquam laeta 3  
 praeda Naupactum redit. Philippo ludorum quoque, qui  
 reliqui erant, celebritatem quantaecumque, de Romanis  
 tamen, victoriae partae fama auxerat, laetitiaque ingenti 4  
 25 celebrati festi dies, eo magis etiam, quod populariter  
 dempto capitis insigni purpuraque atque alio regio habitu  
 aequaverat ceteris se in speciem, quo nihil gratius est  
 civitatibus liberis; praebuissetque haud dubiam eo facto 5  
 30 deformia effecisset. vagabatur enim cum uno aut altero  
 comite per maritas domos dies noctesque, et summittendo 6  
 se in privatum fastigium quo minus conspectus, eo solitior

[XXIX. 9—XXXIII. 5. B.C. 208. *Events in Greece.*]

erat, et libertatem, cum aliis vanam ostendisset, totam in  
 7 suam licentiam verterat. neque enim omnia emebat aut  
 eblandiebatur, sed vim etiam flagitiis adhibebat, periculo-  
 sumque et viris et parentibus erat moram incommoda  
 8 severitate libidini regiae fecisse. uni etiam principi Achae-  
 orum Arato adempta uxor nomine Polycratia ac spe regia-  
 rum nuptiarum in Macedoniam asportata fuerat.

9 Per haec flagitia sollemni Nemeorum peracto paucisque

Attack on Elis  
 by Philip and  
 the Achaeans re-  
 10 pulsured by the  
 Eleans assisted  
 by the Romans.  
 Philip recalled to  
 Macedonia.

additis diebus Dymas est profectus ad prae-  
 sidium Aetolorum, quod ab Eleis aditum 10  
 acceptumque in urbem erat, eiciendum. Cycli-  
 adas—penes eum summa imperii erat—Achaei-  
 que ad Dymas regi occurrere, et Eliorum  
 accensi odio, quod a ceteris Achaeis dissenti-  
 rent, et infensi Aetolis, quos Romanum quoque adversus 15  
 11 se movisse bellum credebant. profecti ab Dymis coniuncto  
 exercitu transeunt Larisum amnem, qui Elium agrum ab  
 32 Dymaeo dirimit. Primum diem, quo fines hostium ingressi  
 sunt, populando absumpserunt. postero die acie instructa  
 ad urbem accesserunt praemissis equitibus, qui obequitando 20  
 portis promptum ad excursions genus lacesserent Aeto-  
 2 lorum. ignorabant Sulpicium cum quindecim navibus ab  
 Naupacto Cyllenen traiecisse et expositis in terram quattuor  
 milibus armatorum silentio noctis, ne conspici agmen posset,  
 3 intrasse Elim. itaque improvisa res ingentem iniecit ter- 25  
 rorem, postquam inter Aetolos Eliosque Romana signa  
 4 atque arma cognovere. et primo recipere suos voluerat rex;  
 dein contracto iam inter Aetolos et Tralles—Illyriorum id  
 est genus—certamine cum urgeri videret suos, et ipse rex  
 5 cum equitatu in cohortem Romanam incurrit. ibi equus 30  
 pilo traiectus cum prolapsus super caput regem effudisset,  
 atrox pugna utrimque accensa est et ab Romanis impetu in

[XXIX. 9—XXXIII. 5. B.C. 208. *Events in Greece.*]

regem facto et protegentibus regiis. insignis et ipsius pugna 6  
 fuit, cum pedes inter equites coactus esset proelium inire.  
 dein, cum iam impar certamen esset, caderentque circa  
 eum multi et vulnerarentur, raptus ab suis atque alteri equo  
 5 iniectus fugit. eo die castra quinque milia passuum ab 7  
 urbe Eliorum posuit. postero die omnes copias ad propin-  
 quum Eliorum castellum—Pyrgum vocant—eduxit, quo  
 agrestium multitudinem cum pecoribus metu populationum  
 compulsam audierat. eam inconditam inermemque multi- 8  
 10 tudinem primo statim terrore adveniēns cepit; compensa-  
 veratque ea praeda quod ignominiae ad Elim acceptum  
 fuerat. dividenti praedam captivosque—fuere autem quat- 9  
 tuor milia hominum, pecorumque omnis generis ad viginti  
 milia—nuntius ex Macedonia venit Eropum quendam  
 15 corrupto arcis praesidiique praefecto Lychnidum cepisse,  
 tenere et Dassaretiorum quosdam vicos <sup>villages</sup> et Dardanos etiam  
 concire. omisso igitur Achaico atque Aetolico bello, relictis 10  
 tamen duobus milibus et quingentis omnis generis arma-  
 torum cum Menippo et Polyphanta ducibus ad praesidium  
 20 sociorum, profectus ab Dymis per Achaiam Boeotiamque 11  
 et Euboeam decumis castris Demetriadem in Thessaliam  
 pervenit.

Ibi alii maiorem adferentes tumultum nuntii occurrunt: 33  
 Dardanos in Macedoniam effusos Orestidem iam tenere ac  
 25 descendisse in Argestaeum campum, famamque inter bar-  
 baros celebrem esse Philippum occisum. expeditione ea, qua 2  
 cum populatoribus agri ad Sicyonem pugnavit, in arborem  
 inlatus impetu equi ad eminentem ramum cornu alterum  
 galeae praefregit; id inventum ab Aetolo quodam perlatum- 3  
 30 que in Aetoliam ad Scerdilaedum, cui notum erat insigne  
 galeae, famam interfecti regis vulgavit. post profectionem 4  
 ex Achaia regis Sulpicius Aeginam classe profectus cum

[XXIX. 9—XXXIII. 5. B.C. 208. *Events in Greece.*]

5 Attalo sese coniunxit. Achai cum Aetolis Eleisque haud procul Messene prosperam pugnam fecerunt. Attalus rex et P. Sulpicius Aeginae hibernarunt.

[XXXIII. 6—XXXV. B.C. 208. *Elections in Rome.*]

6 Exitu huius anni T. Quinctius consul dictatore comitiorum ludorumque faciendorum causa dicto  
Appointment of a dictator and death of Crispinus. T. Manlio Torquato ex vulnere moritur; alii Tarenti, alii in Campania mortuum tradunt.

7 ita, quod nullo ante bello acciderat, duo consules sine memorando proelio interfecti velut orbam rem publicam reliquerant. dictator Manlius magistrum equitum C. Ser-  
 8 vilium—tum aedilis curulis erat—dixit. senatus quo die primum est habitus, ludos magnos facere dictatorem iussit, quos M. Aemilius praetor urbanus C. Flaminius Cn. Servilio consulibus fecerat et in quinquennium voverat. tum dicta-  
 9 tor et fecit ludos et in insequens lustrum vovit. ceterum  
 10 cum duo consulares exercitus tam prope hostem sine ducibus essent, omnibus aliis omissis una praecipua cura patres populumque incessit consules primo quoque tempore creandi, et ut eos crearent potissimum, quorum virtus satis  
 11 tuta a fraude Punica esset: cum toto eo bello damnosa  
 praepropera ac fervida ingenia imperatorum fuisse, tum eo ipso anno consules nimia cupiditate conserendi cum hoste  
 12 manum in necopinatam fraudem lapsos esse; ceterum deos immortalis, miseritos nominis Romani, pepercisse innoxiiis exercitibus, temeritatem consulum ipsorum capitibus dam-  
 nasse.

34 Cum circumspicerent patres, quosnam consules facerent, longe ante alios eminebat C. Claudius Nero; ei conlega quaerebatur. et virum quidem eum  
Choice of consuls, C. Claudius

*Consulere in manu...*



[XXXIII. 6—XXXV. B.C. 208. *Elections in Rome.*]

egregium ducebant, sed promptiorem acriorem- Nero and M. Livius. Previous history of the  
 que, quam tempora belli postularent aut hostis latter and his  
 Hannibal; temperandum acre ingenium eius reluctance to ac 3  
 moderato et prudenti viro adiuncto conlega cept the office.  
 5 censebant. M. Livius erat, multis ante annis ex consulatu 4  
 populi iudicio damnatus, quam ignominiam adeo aegre  
 tulerat, ut rus migraret et per multos annos et urbe et omni  
 coetu caruerit hominum. octavo ferme post damnationem 5  
 anno M. Claudius Marcellus et M. Valerius Laevinus  
 10 consules reduxerant eum in urbem; sed erat veste obsoleta  
 capilloque et barba promissa, prae se ferens in vultu habitu-  
 que insignem memoriam ignominiae acceptae. L. Veturius 6  
 et P. Licinius censores eum tonderi et squalorem deponere  
 et in senatum venire <sup>fungi</sup>que aliis publicis muneribus  
 15 coegerunt. sed tum quoque aut verbo adsentiebatur aut 7  
 pedibus in sententiam ibat, donec cognati hominis eum  
 causa M. Livi Macati, cum fama eius ageretur, stantem  
 coegit in senatu sententiam dicere. tunc ex tanto intervallo 8  
 auditus convertit ora hominum in se, causamque sermonibus  
 20 praebuit, indigno iniuriam a populo factam, magnoque id  
 damno fuisse, quod tam gravi bello nec opera nec consilio  
 talis viri usa res publica esset: C. Neroni neque Q. Fabium 9  
 neque M. Valerium Laevinum dari conlegam posse, quia  
 duos patricos creari non liceret; eandem causam in T. 10  
 25 Manlio esse, praeterquam quod recusasset delatum consula-  
 tum recusaturusque esset. egregium par consulum fore, si 11  
 M. Livium C. Claudio conlegam adiunxissent. nec populus  
 mentionem eius rei ortam a patribus est aspernatus. unus 12  
 eam rem in civitate is, cui deferebatur honos, abnuebat,  
 30 levitatem civitatis accusans: sordidati rei non miseritos  
 candidam togam invito offerre; eodem honores poenasque  
 congeri. si virum bonum ducerent, quid ita pro malo ac 13

Imp.  
 D. M.  
 que m. l.  
 (21)

[XXXIII. 6—XXXV. B.C. 208. *Elections in Rome.*]

noxio damnassent? si noxium comperissent, quid ita male  
 14 credito priore consulatu alterum crederent? haec taliaque  
 arguentem et querentem castigabant patres, et M. Furium  
 memorantes revocatum de exilio patriam pulsam sede sua  
 restituisse, ut parentium saevitiam sic patriae patiendo ac  
 15 ferendo leniendam esse, adnisi omnes cum C. Claudio  
 M. Livium consulem fecerunt.

35 Post diem tertium eius diei praetorum comitia habita.  
 praetores creati L. Porcius Licinus C. Mami-  
Mission of L. Manlius to Greece. Division of provinces between the two consuls. lius C. et A. Hostilii Catones. comitiis per- 10  
 2 lectis ludisque factis dictator et magister  
 equitum magistratu abierunt. C. Terentius  
 Varro in Etruriam pro praetore missus, ut ex ea provincia  
 C. Hostilius Tarentum ad eum exercitum iret, quem T.  
 3 Quinctius consul habuerat; et L. Manlius trans mare lega- 15  
 tus iret viseretque, quae res ibi gererentur; simul, quod  
 Olympiae ludicrum ea aestate futurum erat, quod maximo  
 coetu Graeciae celebraretur, ut, si tuto per hostem posset,  
 4 adiret id concilium, ut, qui Siculi bello ibi profugi aut  
 Tarentini cives relegati ab Hannibale essent, domos redi- 20  
 rent scirentque sua omnia iis, quae ante bellum habuissent,  
 reddere populum Romanum.

5 Quia periculosissimus annus imminere videbatur, neque  
 consules in re publica erant, in consules designatos omnes  
 versi, quam primum eos sortiri provincias et praesciscere, 25  
 quam quisque eorum provinciam, quem hostem haberet,  
 6 volebant. de reconciliatione etiam gratiae eorum in senatu  
 7 actum est principio facto a Q. Fabio Maximo. inimicitiae  
 autem nobiles inter eos erant et acerbiores eas indigniores-  
 que Livio sua calamitas fecerat, quod spretum se in ea 30  
 8 fortuna credebat. itaque is magis implacabilis erat et nihil  
 opus esse reconciliatione aiebat; acrius et intentius omnia

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gesturos timentes, ne crescendi ex se inimico conlegae potestas fieret. vicit tamen auctoritas senatus, ut positis 9  
 simultatibus communi animo consilioque administrarent rem publicam. provinciae iis non permixtae regionibus, 10  
 5 sicut superioribus annis, sed diversae extremis Italiae finibus, alteri adversus Hannibalem Bruttii et Lucani, alteri Gallia adversus Hasdrubalem, quem iam Alpibus adpropinquare fama erat, decreta. exercitum e duobus, qui in Gallia 11  
 quique in Etruria esset, addito urbano, eligeret, quem 11  
 10 mallet, qui Galliam esset sortitus; cui Bruttii provincia 12  
 evenisset, novis legionibus urbanis scriptis, utrius mallet consulum prioris anni exercitum sumeret; relictum a con- 13  
 sule exercitum Q. Fulvius proconsul acciperet, eique in annum imperium esset. et C. Hostilio, cui pro Etruria 14  
 15 Tarentum mutaverant provinciam, pro Tarento Capuam mutaverunt; legio una data est, cui Fulvius proximo anno praefuerat.

[XXXVI—LI. B.C. 207. *Arrival of Hasdrubal. The Metaurus.*]

De Hasdrubalis adventu in Italiam cura in dies cresce- 36  
 bat. Massiliensium primum legati nuntiave- News received  
 20 rant eum in Galliam transgressum, erectosque that Hasdrubal  
 adventu eius, quia magnum pondus auri is in Gaul. Re-  
 attulisse diceretur ad mercede auxilia condu- ligious celebra- 2  
 cenda, Gallorum animos. missi deinde cum tions at Rome.  
 iis legati ab Roma Sex. Antistius et M. Raecius ad rem Allotment of  
 25 inspiciendam rettulerant misisse se cum Massiliensibus commands. 3  
 ducibus, qui per hospites eorum, principes Gallorum, omnia explorata referrent; pro comperto habere, Hasdrubalem 4  
 ingenti iam coacto exercitu proximo vere Alpes traiecturum,

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 nec tum eum quicquam aliud morari, nisi quod clausae  
 hieme essent.

- 5 In locum M. Marcelli P. Aelius Paetus augur creatus  
 inauguratusque; et Cn. Cornelius Dolabella rex sacrorum  
 inauguratus est in locum M. Marcii, qui biennio ante 5  
 6 mortuus erat. hoc eodem anno et lustrum conditum est  
 a censoribus P. Sempronio Tuditano et M. Cornelio  
 7 Cethego. censa civium capita centum triginta septem milia  
 centum octo, minor aliquanto numerus, quam qui ante  
 8 bellum fuerat. eo anno primum, ex quo Hannibal in Italiam 10  
 venisset, comitium tectum esse memoriae proditum est,  
 et ludos Romanos semel instauratos ab aedilibus curulibus  
 9 Q. Metello et C. Servilio. et plebiis ludis biduum instau-  
 ratum ab C. Mamilio et M. Caecilio Metello aedilibus  
 plebis; et tria signa ad Cereris iidem dederunt; et Iovis 15  
 epulum fuit ludorum causa.
- 10 Consulatum inde ineunt C. Claudius Nero et M. Livius  
 iterum. qui quia iam designati provincias sortiti erant,  
 11 praetores sortiri iusserunt. C. Hostilio iurisdictio urbana  
 evenit; addita et peregrina, ut tres in provincias exire 20  
 possent; A. Hostilio Sardinia, C. Mamilio Sicilia, L. Porcio  
 12 Gallia evenit. summa legionum trium et viginti ita per  
 provincias divisa: ut binae consulum essent, quattuor  
 Hispania haberet, binas tres praetores, in Sicilia et Sardinia  
 13 et Gallia, duas C. Terentius in Etruria, duas Q. Fulvius 25  
 in Bruttiiis, duas Q. Claudius circa Tarentum et Sallentinos,  
 unam C. Hostilius Tubulus Capuae; et duae urbanae ut  
 14 scriberentur. primis quattuor legionibus populus tribunos  
 creavit, in ceteras consules miserunt.
- 37 Priusquam consules proficiscerentur, novendiale sacrum 30  
 2 fuit, quia Veis de caelo lapidaverat. sub unius prodigii,  
 ut fit, mentionem alia quoque nuntiata: Minturnis aedem

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Iovis et lucum Maricae, item Atellae murum et portam  
de caelo tactam. Minturnenses, terribilius

quod esset, adiciebant sanguinis rivum in porta fluxisse, et Capuae lupus nocte portam

Prodigies, and  
ceremonies of  
atonement.

5 ingressus vigilem laniaverat. haec procurata hostiis maiori- 4

bus prodigia, et supplicatio diem unum fuit ex decreto  
pontificum. inde iterum novendiale instauratum, quod in

Armilustro lapidibus visum pluere. liberatas religione 5  
mentes turbavit rursus nuntiatum Frusinone natum esse

10 infantem quadrimo parem, nec magnitudine tam mirandum,

quam quod is quoque, ut Sinuessae biennio ante, incertus,  
mas an femina esset, natus erat. id vero haruspices ex 6

Etruria adciti foedum ac turpe prodigium dicere, extorrem  
agro Romano, procul terrae contactu, alto mergendum.

15 vivum in arcam condidere, provectumque in mare proiece-  
runt. decrevere item pontifices, ut virgines ter novenae 7

per urbem euntes carmen canerent. id cum in Iovis  
Statoris aede discerent conditum ab Livio poeta carmen,

tacta de caelo aedes in Aventino Iunonis Reginae; pro- 8

20 digiumque id ad matronas pertinere haruspices cum re-  
spondissent donoque divam placandam esse, aedilium 9

curulium edicto in Capitolium convocatae, quibus in urbe  
Romana intraque decimum lapidem ab urbe domicilia

essent, ipsae inter se quinque et viginti delegerunt, ad quas

25 ex dotibus stipem conferrent. inde donum pelvis aurea 10  
facta lataque in Aventinum, pureque et caste a matronis  
sacrificatum. confestim ad aliud sacrificium eidem divae 11

ab decemviris edicta dies, cuius ordo talis fuit: ab aede  
Apollinis boves feminae albae duae porta Carmentali in

30 urbem ductae; post eas duo signa cupressae Iunonis 12  
Reginae portabantur; tum septem et viginti virgines,  
longam indutae vestem, carmen in Iunonem Reginam 13

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canentes ibant, illa tempestate forsitan laudabile rudibus  
ingeniis, nunc abhorrens et inconditum, si referatur; virgi-  
num ordinem sequebantur decemviri coronati laurea prae-  
14 textatique. a porta Iugario vico in forum venere. in foro  
pompa constitit, et per manus reste data virgines sonum <sup>5</sup> *note*  
15 vocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesserunt. inde vico  
Tusco Velabroque per Bovarium forum in clivum Publi-  
cium atque aedem Iunonis Reginae perrectum. ibi duae  
hostiae ab decemviris immolatae et simulacra cupressea in  
aedem inlata.

38 Deis rite placatis dilectum consules habebant acrius  
intentiusque, quam prioribus annis quisquam  
meminerat habitum: nam et belli terror dupli-  
catus novi hostis in Italiam adventu, et minus  
iuventutis erat, unde scriberent milites. itaque <sup>15</sup>  
colonos etiam maritimos, qui sacrosanctam vacationem  
dicebantur habere, dare milites cogeant. quibus recu-  
santibus edixere in diem certam, ut, quo quisque iure  
4 vacationem haberet, ad senatum deferret. ea die ad  
senatum hi populi venerunt: Ostiensis Alsiensis Antias <sup>20</sup>  
Anxurnas Minturnensis Sinuessanus et ab supero mari  
5 Senensis. cum vacationes suas quisque populus recitaret,  
nullius, cum in Italia hostis esset, praeter Antiatem Ostien-  
semque vacatio observata est, et earum coloniarum iuniores  
iure iurando adacti, supra dies triginta non pernoctaturos se <sup>25</sup>  
esse extra moenia coloniae suae, donec hostis in Italia  
6 esset. <sup>7</sup> cum omnes <sup>8</sup> censèrent primo quoque tempore consu-  
libus eundum ad bellum—nam et Hasdrubali occurrendum  
esse descendentem ab Alpibus, ne Gallos Cisalpinos neve  
7 Etruriam erectam in spem rerum novarum sollicitaret, et <sup>30</sup>  
Hannibalem suo proprio occupandum bello, ne emergere ex  
Bruttiis atque obviam ire fratri posset—, Livius cunctabatur,

Military ar-  
rangements.  
Strictness of the  
levy. *Volones*  
enrolled.

10

20

25

30

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parum fidens suarum provinciarum exercitibus: /conlegam 8  
 ex duobus consularibus egregiis exercitibus et tertio, cui Q.  
 Claudius Tarenti praeesset, electionem habere; intuleratque  
 mentionem de <sup>volonibus</sup> ~~volonibus~~ revocandis ad signa. senatus libe- 9  
 5 ram potestatem consulibus fecit et supplendi, unde vellent,  
 et eligendi de omnibus exercitibus, quos vellent permutandi-  
 que *et* ex provinciis, quo e re publica censerent esse,  
 traducendi. ea omnia cum summa concordia consulum 10  
 acta. volones in undevicensimam et vicensimam legiones  
 10 scripti. magni roboris auxilia ex Hispania quoque a P. 11  
 Scipione M. Livio missa quidam ad id bellum auctores  
 sunt, octo milia Hispanorum Gallorumque et duo milia de  
 legione militum, equitum mille, mixtos Numidas Hispanos-  
 que, M. Lucretium has copias navibus advexisse; et 12  
 15 sagittariorum funditorumque ad tria milia ex Sicilia C.  
 Mamiliam misisse.

Auxerunt Romae tumultum litterae ex Gallia allatae ab 39  
 L. Porcio praetore: Hasdrubalem movisse ex 2  
 hibernis et iam Alpes transire; octo milia <sup>News arrives</sup>  
 20 Ligurum conscripta armataque coniunctura se <sup>that Hasdrubal</sup>  
 transgresso in Italiam esse, nisi mitteretur in <sup>is crossing the</sup>  
 Ligures, qui eos bello occuparet; se cum <sup>Alps. Causes</sup>  
 invalido exercitu, quoad tutum putaret, progressurum. hae <sup>that facilitated</sup>  
 litterae consules raptim confecto dilectu maturius, quam <sup>his passage.</sup>  
 25 constituerant, exire in provincias coegerunt ea mente, ut  
 uterque hostem in sua provincia contineret neque coniungi  
 aut conferre in unum vires pateretur. plurimum in eam 4  
 rem adiuvit opinio Hannibalis, quod, etsi ea aestate transi-  
 turum in Italiam fratrem crediderat, recordando, quae ipse  
 30 in transitu nunc Rhodani nunc Alpium cum hominibus  
 locisque pugnando per quinque menses exhausisset, haud- 5  
 quaquam tam facilem maturumque transitum expectabat;

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6 ea tardius movendi ex hibernis causa fuit. ceterum Has-  
 drubali et sua et aliorum spe omnia celeriora atque  
 expeditiora fuere. non enim receperunt modo Arverni eum  
 deincepsque aliae Gallicae atque Alpinae gentes, sed etiam  
 7 secutae sunt ad bellum. et cum per munita pleraque  
 transitu fratris, quae antea invia fuerant, ducebat, tum etiam  
 duodecim annorum adsuetudine perviis Alpibus factis inter  
 8 mitiora iam transibat hominum ingenia. invisitati namque  
 antea alienigenis, nec videre ipsi advenam in sua terra  
 adsueta, omni generi humano insociabiles erant. et primo  
 9 ignari, quo Poenus pergeret, suas rupes suaque castella et  
 pecorum hominumque praedam peti crediderant; fama  
 deinde Punici belli, quo duodecimum annum Italia urebatur,  
 satis edocuerat viam tantum Alpes esse, duas praevalidas  
 urbes, magno inter se maris terrarumque spatio discretas,  
 10 de imperio et opibus certare. hae causae aperuerant Alpes  
 11 Hasdrubali. ceterum quod celeritate itineris profectum  
 erat, id mora ad Placentiam, dum frustra obsidet magis  
 12 quam oppugnat, corrupit. crediderat campestris oppidi  
 facilem expugnationem esse, et nobilitas coloniae induxerat  
 20 eum, magnum se excidio eius urbis terrorem ceteris ratum  
 13 iniecturum. non ipse se solum ea oppugnatione impediit,  
 sed Hannibalem post famam transitus eius tanto spe sua  
 14 celerioris iam moventem ex hibernis continuerat, quippe  
 reputantem, non solum quam lenta urbium oppugnatione  
 25 esset, sed etiam quam ipse frustra eandem illam coloniam  
 ab Trebia victor regressus temptasset.

EX 40

Consules diversis itineribus profecti ab urbe velut in  
 duo pariter bella distenderant curas hominum,  
 2 Anxious fore- bodings at Rome. simul recordantium, quas primus adventus  
 Hannibalis intulisset Italiae clades, simul cum illa angeret  
 cura; quos tam propitios urbi atque imperio fore deos, ut



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eodem tempore utrobique res publica prospere gereretur? adhuc adversa secundis pensando rem ad id tempus 3 extractam esse: cum in Italia ad Trasumennum et Cannas praecipitasset Romana res, prospera bella in Hispania 5 prolapsam eam erexisse; postea, cum in Hispania alia 4 super aliam clades duobus egregiis ducibus amissis duos exercitus ex parte delessent, multa secunda in Italia Sicilia- que gesta quassatam rem publicam excepisse; et ipsum 5 intervallum loci, quod in ultimis terrarum oris alterum 10 bellum gereretur, spatium dedisse ad respirandum: nunc 6 duo bella in Italiam accepta, duo celeberrimi nominis duces circumstare urbem Romanam, et unum in locum totam periculi molem, omne onus incubuisse. qui eorum prior vicisset, intra paucos dies castra cum altero iuncturum. 15 terrebat et proximus annus lugubris duorum consulum 7 funeribus. his anxii curis homines digredientes in provin- cias consules persecuti sunt. memoriae proditum est 8 plenum adhuc irae in cives M. Livium ad bellum proficiscentem monenti Q. Fabio, ne, priusquam genus hostium 20 cognosset, temere manum consereret, respondisse, ubi primum hostium agmen conspexisset, pugnaturum. cum 9 quaereretur, quae causa festinandi esset, "aut ex hoste egregiam gloriam" inquit "aut ex civibus victis gaudium meritum certe, etsi non honestum, capiam."

25 Priusquam Claudius consul in provinciam perveniret, 10 per extremum finem agri Uriatis ducentem in Sallentinos exercitum Hannibalem expeditis cohortibus adortus C. Hostilius Tubulus in- composito agmini terribilem tumultum intulit; Successful at- tack on Hanni- bal by C. Hos- tilius Tubulus. Hannibal retires into Bruttium.

30 ad quattuor milia hominum occidit, novem signa militaria 11 cepit. moverat ex hibernis ad famam hostis Q. Claudius, qui per urbes agri Sallentini castra disposita habebat. itaque 12

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- ne cum duobus exercitibus simul configeret, Hannibal nocte castra ex agro Tarentino movit atque in Bruttios
- 13 concessit. Claudius in Sallentinos agmen convertit; Hostilius Capuam petens obvius ad Venusiam fuit consuli
- 14 Claudio. ibi ex utroque exercitu electa peditum quadraginta milia, duo milia et quingenti equites, quibus consul adversus Hannibalem rem gereret: reliquas copias Hostilius Capuam ducere iussus, ut Q. Fulvio proconsuli traderet.
- XVIAS  
41 Hannibal undique contracto exercitu, quem in hibernis aut in praesidiis agri Bruttii habuerat, in 10
- Hannibal  
moves to Grumentum in Lucania, and is  
2 there defeated by Nero.
- Lucanos ad Grumentum venit spe recipiendi oppida, quae per metum ad Romanos defecissent. eodem a Venusia consul Romanus exploratis itineribus contendit, et mille fere
- 3 et quingentos passus castra ab hoste locat. Grumentum 15
- moenibus prope iniunctum videbatur Poenorum vallum; 4 quingenti passus intererant. castra Punica ac Romana interiacebat campus; colles imminebant nudi sinistro lateri Carthaginensium, dextro Romanorum, neutris suspecti, quod nihil silvae neque ad insidias latebrarum habebant. 20
- 5 in medio campo ab stationibus procursantes certamina haud satis digna dictu serebant. id modo Romanum quaerere apparebat, ne abire hostem pateretur: Hannibal inde 6 evadere cupiens totis viribus in aciem descendebat. tum consul ingenio hostis usus, quo minus in tam apertis 25
- collibus timeri insidiae poterant, quinque cohortis additis quinque manipulis nocte iugum superare et in aversis 7 vallibus considerare iubet. tempus exsurgendi ex insidiis et adgrediendi hostem Ti. Claudium Asellum tribunum militum et P. Claudium praefectum socium edocet, quos cum 30
- 8 iis mittebat; ipse luce prima copias omnis peditum equitumque in aciem eduxit. paulo post et ab Hannibale

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signum pugnae propositum est, clamorque in castris ad  
arma discurrentium est sublatus. inde eques pedesque  
certatim portis ruere ac palati per campum properare ad  
hostes. quos ubi effusos consul videt, tribuno militum 9  
5 tertiae legionis C. Aurunculeio imperat, ut equites legionis  
quanto maximo impetu possit in hostem emittat: ita 10  
pecorum modo incompósitos toto passim campo se fuisse,  
ut sterni obterique, priusquam instruantur, possint. >Nondum 42  
Hannibal e castris exierat, cum pugnantium clamorem audi-  
10 vit. itaque excitus tumultu raptim ad hostem copias agit.  
iam primos occupaverat equestris terror; peditum etiam 2  
prima legio et dextra ala proelium inibat; incompósitos  
hostes, ut quemque aut pediti aut equiti casus obtulit, ita  
conserunt manus. crescit pugna subsidiis et procurrentium 3  
15 ad certamen numero augetur; pugnantesque, quod nisi in  
vetere exercitu et duci veteri haud facile est, inter tumultum 4  
ac terrorem instruxisset Hannibal, ni cohortium ac mani-  
pulorum decurrentium per colles clamor ab tergo auditus  
metum, ne intercluderentur a castris, inieciisset. inde pavor 5  
20 incussus et fuga passim fieri coepta est. minorque caedes  
fuit, quia propinquitas castrorum breviorē fugam percussis  
fecit. equites enim tergo inhaerebant; in transversa latera 6  
invaserant cohortes secundis collibus via nuda ac facili  
decurrentes. tamen supra octo milia hominum occisa, 7  
25 supra septingentos capti, signa militaria novem adempta;  
elephanti etiam, quorum nullus usus in repentina ac tumul-  
tuaria pugna fuerat, quattuor occisi, duo capti. circa 8  
quingentos Romanorum sociorumque victores ceciderunt.  
postero die Poenus quievit; Romanus in aciem copiis  
30 eductis postquam neminem signa contra efferre vidit, spolia  
legi caesorum hostium et suorum corpora conlata in unum  
sepeliri iussit. inde insequentibus continuis diebus aliquot 9

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- 10 ita institit portis, ut prope inferre signa videretur, donec  
 Hannibal re- Hannibal tertia vigilia crebris ignibus taber-  
 tires into Apulia. Near Venusia he nacularisque, quae pars castrorum ad hostes  
 suffers more loss, thence moves vergebatur, et Numidis paucis, qui in vallo  
 to Metapontum, portisque se ostenderent, relictis profectus 5  
 thence to Canu- Apuliam petere intendit. ubi inluxit, suc-  
 sium, closely fol- cessit vallo Romana acies, et Numidae ex  
 lowed by Nero. composito paulisper in portis se valloque ostentavere  
 frustratique aliquamdiu hostes citatis equis agmen suorum  
 12 adsequuntur. consul ubi silentium in castris et ne paucos 10  
 quidem, qui prima luce obambulaverant, parte ulla cernebat,  
 duobus equitibus speculatum in castra praemissis postquam  
 satis tuta omnia esse exploratum est, inferri signa iussit;  
 13 tantumque ibi moratus, dum milites ad praedam discurrent,  
 receptui deinde cecinit multoque ante noctem copias re- 15  
 14 duxit. postero die luce prima profectus, magnis itineribus  
 famam et vestigia agminis sequens haud procul Venusia  
 15 hostem adsequitur. ibi quoque tumultuaria pugna fuit;  
 supra duo milia Poenorum caesa. inde nocturnis montan-  
 nisque itineribus Poenus, ne locum pugnandi daret, Meta- 20  
 16 pontum petiit. Hanno inde—is enim praesidio eius loci  
 praefuerat—in Bruttios cum paucis ad exercitum novum  
 comparandum missus; Hannibal copiis eius ad suas additis  
 Venusiam retro quibus venerat itineribus repetit, atque  
 17 inde Canusium procedit. numquam Nero vestigiis hostis 25  
 abstiterat et Q. Fulvium, cum Metapontum ipse profi-  
 cisceretur, in Lucanos, ne regio ea sine praesidio esset,  
 arcessierat.

- 43 Inter haec ab Hasdrubale, postquam a Placentiae  
 obsidione abscessit, quattuor Galli equites, 30  
 duo Numidae cum litteris ad Hannibalem  
 missi cum per medios hostes totam ferme

A despatch  
 from Hasdrubal  
 to Hannibal  
 being intercept-

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longitudinem Italiae emensi essent, dum ed, Nero deter- 2  
 Metapontum cedentem Hannibalem sequun- mines at once to  
 tur, incertis itineribus Tarentum delati a take the best of  
 vagis per agros pabulatoribus Romanis ad Q. his troops and  
 5 Claudium propraetorem deducuntur. eum join Livius. His  
 primo incertis implicantes responsis, ut metus tormentorum despatch to the  
 admotus fateri vera coegit, edocuerunt litteras se ab Has- Senate. 3  
 drubale ad Hannibalem ferre. cum iis litteris sicut erant 4  
 signatis L. Verginio tribuno militum ducendi ad Claudium  
 10 consulem traduntur; duae simul turmae Samnitium praesidii 5  
 causa missae. qui ubi ad consulem pervenerunt, litteraeque  
 lectae per interpretem sunt, et ex captivis percunctatio  
 facta, tum Claudius non id tempus esse rei publicae ratus, 6  
 quo consiliis ordinariis provinciae suae quisque finibus per  
 15 exercitus suos cum hoste destinato ab senatu bellum  
 gereret; audendum ac novandum aliquid improvisum, in- 7  
 opinatum, quod coeptum non minorem apud cives quam  
 hostes terrorem faceret, perpetratum in magnam laetitiam  
 ex magno metu verteret, litteris Hasdrubalis Romam ad 8  
 20 senatum missis simul et ipse patres conscriptos, quid  
 pararet, edocet, et ut, cum in Umbria se occursum  
 Hasdrubal fratri scribat, legionem a Capua Romam arces-  
 sant, dilectum Romae habeant, exercitum urbanum ad 9  
 Narniam hosti opponant. haec senatu scripta. praemissi 10  
 25 item per agrum Larinatem Marrucinum Fren-  
 tanum Praetutianum, qua exercitum ducturus  
 erat, ut omnes ex agris urbibusque commeatus  
 paratos militi ad vescendum in viam deferrent,  
 equos iumentaue alia producerent, ut vehiculorum fessis  
 30 copia esset. ipse de toto exercitu civium sociorumque quod 11  
 roboris erat delegit, sex milia peditum, mille equites;  
 pronuntiat occupare se in Lucanis proximam urbem Puni-

Messengers are sent to the peoples along the line of his intended route.

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cumque in ea praesidium velle: ut ad iter parati omnes  
12 essent. profectus nocte flexit in Picenum.

Et consul quidem quantis maximis itineribus poterat ad  
conlegam ducebat relicto Q. Catio legato, qui castris prae-  
44 What Rome thought of his action (cf. c. 50, §§ 1-5). esset. Romae haud minus terroris ac tumultus 5  
erat, quam fuerat biennio ante, cum castra  
Punica obiecta Romanis moenibus portisque  
fuerant. neque satis constabat animis, tam audax iter  
2 consulis laudarent vituperarentne; apparebat, quo nihil  
iniquius est, ex eventu famam habiturum: castra prope 10  
Hannibalem hostem relicta sine duce, cum exercitu, cui  
detractum foret omne quod roboris, quod floris fuerit, et  
consulem in Lucanos ostendisse iter, cum Picenum et  
3 Galliam peteret, castra relinquentem nulla alia re tutiora  
quam errore hostis, qui ducem inde atque exercitus partem 15  
4 abisse ignoraret. quid futurum, si id palam fiat, et aut  
insequi Neronem cum sex milibus armatorum profectum  
Hannibal toto exercitu velit aut castra invadere praedae  
5 relicta sine viribus, sine imperio, sine auspicio? veteres eius  
belli clades, duo consules proximo anno interfecti terre- 20  
bant: et ea omnia accidisse, cum unus imperator, unus  
exercitus hostium in Italia esset; nunc duo bella Punica  
facta, duos ingentes exercitus, duos prope Hannibales in  
6 Italia esse. quippe et Hasdrubalem patre eodem Hamil-  
care genitum, aequae inipigrum ducem, per tot annos in 25  
Hispania Romano exercitatum bello, gemina victoria in-  
signem duobus exercitibus cum clarissimis ducibus deletis.  
7 nam itineris quidem celeritate ex Hispania et concitatis ad  
arma Gallicis gentibus multo magis quam Hannibalem  
8 ipsum gloriari posse: quippe in iis locis hunc coegisse 30  
exercitum, quibus ille maiorem partem militum fame ac  
frigore, quae miserrima mortis genera sint, amisisset.

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adiciebant etiam periti rerum Hispaniae, haud cum ignoto 9  
 eum duce C. Nerone congressurum, sed quem in saltu  
 impedito deprensus forte haud secus quam puerum conscri-  
 bendis fallacibus condicionibus pacis frustratus elusisset.  
 5 omnia maiora etiam vero praesidia hostium, minora sua, 10  
 metu interprete semper in deteriora inclinato, ducebant.

Nero postquam iam tantum intervalli ab hoste fecerat, 45  
 ut detegi consilium satis tutum esset, paucis  
 milites alloquitur. negat ullius consilium im-  
 10 peratoris in speciem audacius, re ipsa tutius  
 fuisse quam suum. ad certam eos se victo-  
 riam ducere : quippe ad quod bellum conlega  
 non ante, quam ad satietatem ipsius peditum  
 atque equitum datae ab senatu copiae fuissent, maiores  
 15 instructioresque, quam si adversus ipsum Hannibalem iret,  
 profectus sit, eo ipsi si quantumcumque virium mo-  
 mentum addiderint, rem omnem inclinaturos. auditum 4  
 modo in acie—nam ne ante audiatur, daturum operam  
 —alterum consulem et alterum exercitum advenisse haud  
 20 dubiam victoriam facturum. famam bellum conficere, et 5  
 parva momenta in spem metumque impellere animos ;  
 gloriae quidem ex re bene gesta partae fructum prope  
 omnem ipsos laturos ; semper quod postremum adiectum 6  
 sit, id rem totam videri traxisse. cernere ipsos, quo con-  
 25 cursu, qua admiratione, quo favore hominum inter suum  
 celebretur. et hercule per instructa omnia ordinibus viro- 7  
 rum mulierumque undique ex agris effusorum inter vota  
 ac preces et laudes ibant : illos praesidia rei publicae,  
 vindices urbis Romanae imperiique appellabant ; in illorum  
 30 armis dextrisque suam liberorumque suorum salutem ac  
 libertatem repositam esse. deos omnes deasque preca- 8  
 bantur, ut illis faustum iter, felix pugna, matura ex hostibus

At a safe dis-  
 tance from the  
 enemy Nero re-  
 veals his plan  
 to the soldiers.  
 Their devotion.  
 3  
 Enthusiastic re-  
 ception of the ar-  
 my everywhere.

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victoria esset, damnarenturque ipsi votorum, quae pro iis  
 9 suscepissent, ut, quem ad modum nunc solliciti prosequerentur eos, ita paucos post dies laeti ovantibus victoria  
 10 obviam irent. invitare inde pro se quisque et offerre et fatigare precibus, ut quae ipsis iumentisque usui essent, ab se potissimum sumerent; benigne omnia cumulata dare.  
 11 modestia certare milites, ne quid ultra usum necessarium sumerent; nihil morari, nec *abscedere* ab signis nec subsistere *nisi* cibum capientes; diem ac noctem ire; vix quod satis ad naturale desiderium corporum esset, quieti dare. 10  
 12 et ad conlegam praemissi erant, qui nuntiarent adventum percunctarenturque, clam an palam, interdium an noctu venire sese vellet, isdem an aliis considerare castris. nocte clam ingredi melius visum est.

46 Tessera per castra ab Livio consule data erat, ut tribunus 15  
 tribunum, centurio centurionem, eques equitem, pedes peditem acciperet: neque enim  
 2 Arrangements of Livius for receiving Nero's force. Junction of the two armies. Nero urges immediate battle. dilatari castra opus esse, ne hostis adventum alterius consulis sentiret; et coartatio plurimum  
 in angusto tendentium facilius futura erat, quod 20  
 Claudianus exercitus nihil ferme praeter arma secum in  
 3 expeditionem tulerat. ceterum in ipso itinere auctum voluntariis agmen erat, offerentibus ultro sese et veteribus militibus perfunctis iam militia et iuvenibus, quos certatim nomina dantes, si quorum corporis species roburque virium 25  
 4 aptum militiae videbatur, conscripserat. ad Senam castra alterius consulis erant, et quingentos ferme inde passus Hasdrubal aberat. itaque cum iam adpropinquaret, tectus montibus substitit Nero, ne ante noctem castra ingrederetur.  
 5 silentio ingressi, ab sui quisque ordinis hominibus in tentoria 30  
 abducti, cum summa omnium laetitia hospitaliter excipiuntur. postero die consilium habitum, cui et L. Porcius



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Licinus praetor adfuit. castra iuncta consulum castris 6  
 habebat, et ante adventum eorum per loca alta ducendo  
 exercitum; cum modo insideret angustos saltus, ut transitum  
 clauderet, modo ab latere aut ab tergo carperet agmen,  
 5 ludificatus hostem omnibus artibus belli fuerat; is tum in  
 consilio aderat. multorum eo inclinabant sententiae, ut, 7  
 dum fessum via ac vigiliis reficeret militem Nero, simul et  
 ad noscendum hostem paucos sibi sumeret dies, tempus  
 pugnae differretur; Nero non suadere modo, sed summa 8  
 10 ope orare institit, ne consilium suum, quod tutum celeritas  
 fecisset, temerarium morando facerent; errore, qui non 9  
 diuturnus futurus esset, velut torpentem Hannibalem nec  
 castra sua sine duce relicta adgredi, nec ad sequendum se  
 iter intendisse. antequam se moveat, deleri exercitum  
 15 Hasdrubalis posse rediri in Apuliam. qui prolatando 10  
 spatium hosti det, eum et illa castra prodere Hannibali et  
 aperire in Galliam iter, ut per otium, ubi velit, Hasdrubali  
 coniungatur. extemplo signum dandum et exeundum in 11  
 aciem abutendumque errore hostium absentium praesen-  
 20 tiumque, dum neque illi sciant cum paucioribus nec hi cum  
 pluribus et validioribus rem esse. consilio dimisso signum 12  
 pugnae proponitur, confestimque in aciem procedunt.

Iam hostes ante castra instructi stabant. moram pugnae 47  
 attulit, quod Hasdrubal, provectus ante signa  
 25 cum paucis equitibus, scuta vetera hostium  
 notavit, quae ante non viderat, et strigosiores  
 equos; multitudo quoque maior solita visa est.  
 suspicatus enim id, quod erat, receptui propere  
 cecinit ac misit ad flumen, unde aquabantur, ubi et excipi  
 30 aliqui possent et notari oculis, si qui forte adustioris coloris  
 ut ex recenti via essent; simul circumvehi procul castra 3  
 iubet specularique, num auctum aliqua parte sit vallum, et

Hasdrubal be-  
 coming aware of  
 the arrival of  
 Nero refuses bat-  
 tle and retreats  
 towards the Me-  
 taurus.

2

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4 ut attendant, semel bisne signum canat in castris. ea cum  
 ordine omnia relata essent, castra nihil aucta errorem facie-  
 bant: bina erant, sicut ante adventum consulis alterius  
 fuerant, una M. Livi, altera L. Porci, neutris quicquam,  
 5 quo latius tenderetur, ad munimenta adiectum. illud s  
 veterem ducem adsuetumque Romano hosti movit, quod  
 semel in praetoriis castris signum, bis in consularibus  
 referebant cecinisse. duos profecto consules esse, et quo-  
 nam modo alter ab Hannibale abscessisset, cura angebat.  
 6 minime id, quod erat, suspicari poterat, tantae rei frustra- 10  
 tione Hannibalem elusum, ut, ubi dux, ubi exercitus esset,  
 7 cum quo castrā conlata haberet, ignoraret; profecto haud  
 mediocri clade absterritum insequi non ausum; magno  
 opere vereri, ne perditis rebus serum ipse auxilium venisset  
 Romanisque eadem iam fortuna in Italia quae in Hispania 15  
 8 esset. interdum litteras suas ad eum non pervenisse cre-  
 dere, interceptisque iis consulem ad sese opprimendum  
 adcelerasse. his anxius curis extinctis ignibus vigilia prima  
 9 dato signo, ut taciti vasa colligerent, signa ferri iussit. in  
 trepidatione et nocturno tumultu duces parum intente ad- 20  
 servati, alter in destinatis iam ante animo latebris subsedit,  
 alter per vada nota Metaurum flumen tranavit. ita desertum  
 ab ducibus agmen primo per agros palatur, fessique aliquot  
 somno ac vigiliis sternunt corpora passim atque infre-  
 10 quentia relinquunt signa. Hasdrubal, dum lux viam osten- 25  
 deret, ripa fluminis signa ferri iubet; et per tortuosi amnis  
 sinus flexusque cum orbem volvens haud multum proces-  
 sisset, ubi prima lux transitum opportunum ostendisset,  
 11 transiturus erat. sed cum, quantum a mari abscedebat,  
 tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis non inveniret 30  
 vada, diem terendo spatium dedit ad insequendum sese  
 hosti.

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Nero primum cum omni equitatu advenit, Porcius 48  
 deinde adsecutus cum levi armatura. qui cum The consuls fol- 2  
 fessum agmen carperent ab omni parte incur- low and overtake  
 sarentque, et iam omisso itinere, quod fugae him. The battle  
 5 simile erat, castra metari Poenus in tumulto super fluminis of the Metaurus.  
 ripam vellet, advenit Livius peditum omnibus copiis non 3  
 itineris modo, sed ad conserendum extemplo proelium  
 instructis armatisque. sed ubi omnes copias coniunxerunt, 4  
 directaque acies est, Claudius dextro in cornu, Livius ab  
 10 sinistro pugnam instruit, media acies praetori tuenda data.  
 Hasdrubal omissa munitione castrorum postquam pugnan- 5  
 dum vidit, in prima acie ante signa elephantos locat, circa  
 eos laevo in cornu adversus Claudium Gallos opponit, haud  
 tantum iis fidens, quantum ab hoste timeri eos credebatur;  
 15 ipse dextrum cornu adversus M. Livium sibi atque Hispanis 6  
 —et ibi maxime in vetere milite spem habebat—sumpsit;  
 Ligures in medio post elephantos positi. sed longior quam 7  
 latior acies erat; Gallos prominens collis tegebat. ea frons, 8  
 quam Hispani tenebant, cum sinistro Romanorum cornu  
 20 concurrat; dextra omnis acies extra proelium eminens  
 cessabat; collis oppositus arcebat, ne aut a fronte aut ab  
 latere adgrederentur. inter Livium Hasdrubalemque ingens 9  
 contractum certamen erat, atroxque caedes utrimque ede-  
 batur. ibi duces ambo, ibi pars maior peditum equitumque  
 25 Romanorum, ibi Hispani, vetus miles peritusque Romanae 10  
 pugnae, et Ligures, durum in armis genus. eodem versi  
 elephantanti, qui primo impetu turbaverant antesignanos et  
 iam signa moverant loco; deinde crescente certamine et 11  
 clamore inpotentius iam regi et inter duas acies versari,  
 30 velut incerti, quorum essent, haud dissimiliter navibus sine  
 gubernaculo vagis. Claudius “quid ergo praecipiti cursu 12  
 tam longum iter emensi sumus?” clamitans militibus, cum

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- in adversum collem frustra signa erigere conatus esset,  
 13 postquam ea regione penetrari ad hostem non videbat  
 posse, cohortes aliquot subductas e dextro cornu, ubi  
 stationem magis segnem quam pugnam futuram cernebat,  
 14 post aciem circumducit et non hostibus modo sed etiam 5  
 suis inopinantibus in dextrum hostium latus incurrit; tanta-  
 que celeritas fuit, ut, cum ostendissent se ab latere, mox  
 15 in terga iam pugnarent. ita ex omnibus partibus, ab fronte,  
 ab latere, ab tergo, trucidantur Hispani Liguresque, et ad  
 16 Gallos iam caedes pervenerat. ibi minimum certaminis 10  
 fuit: nam et pars magna ab signis aberant, nocte dilapsi  
 stratique somno passim per agros, et qui aderant, itinere  
 ac vigiliis fessi, intolerantissima laboris corpora, vix arma  
 17 umeris gestabant; et iam diei medium erat, sitisque et  
 calor hiantes caedendos capiendosque adfatim praebebat. 15  
 49 Elephanti plures ab ipsis rectoribus quam ab hoste inter-  
 fecti. fabrile scalprum cum malleo habebant; id, ubi  
 saevire beluae ac ruere in suos coeperant, magister inter  
 aures positum, ipso in articulo, quo iungitur capiti cervix,  
 2 quanto maximo poterat ictu adigebat. ea celerrima via 20  
 mortis in tantae molis belua inventa erat, ubi regentis  
 imperium sprevisent, primusque id Hasdrubal instituerat,  
 dux cum saepe alias memorabilis, tum illa praecipue pugna.  
 3 ille pugnantes hortando pariterque obeundo pericula susti-  
 nuit, ille fessos abnuentesque taedio ac labore nunc precando 25  
 nunc castigando accendit, ille fugientes revocavit omissam-  
 4 que pugnam aliquot locis restituit; postremo, cum haud  
 dubie fortuna hostium esset, ne superstes tanto exercitui  
 suum nomen secuto esset, concitato equo se in cohortem  
 Romanam inmisit. ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale 30  
 fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit.  
 5 Numquam eo bello una acie tantum hostium interfectum

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est, redditaque aequa Cannensi clades vel The losses on  
 ducis vel exercitus interitu videbatur. quin- both sides. 6  
 quaginta sex milia hostium occisa, capta quinque milia et  
 quadringenti; magna praeda alia cum omnis generis tum  
 5 auri etiam argenteae. civium etiam Romanorum, qui  
 capti apud hostes erant, supra quattuor milia capitum  
 recepta; id solacii fuit pro amissis eo proelio militibus.  
 nam haudquaquam incruenta victoria fuit: octo ferme  
 milia Romanorum sociorumque occisa; adeoque etiam 8  
 10 victores sanguinis caedisque ceperat satietas, ut postero  
 die, cum esset nuntiatum Livio consuli Gallos Cisalpinos  
 Liguresque, qui aut proelio non adfuissent aut inter caedem  
 effugissent, uno agmine abire sine certo duce, sine signis,  
 sine ordine ullo aut imperio; si una equitum ala mittatur,  
 15 posse omnes deleri: "supersint" inquit "aliqui nuntii et 9  
 hostium cladis et nostrae virtutis."

Nero ea nocte, quae secuta est pugnam *profectus*, cita- 50  
 tiore quam inde venerat agmine die sexto ad  
 stativa sua atque ad hostem pervenit. Nero returns  
 iter to his own camp 2  
 20 eius frequentia minore, quia nemo praecesser- in five days. Re-  
 rat nuntius, laetitia vero tanta, vix ut compotes ception of the  
 mentium prae gaudio essent, celebratum est. news and revul-  
sion of feeling in  
 nam Romae neuter animi habitus satis dici enarrarique 3  
 potest, nec quo incerta expectatione eventus civitas fuerat,  
 25 nec quo victoriae famam accepit. numquam per omnes 4  
 dies, ex quo Claudium consulem profectum fama attulit, ab  
 orto sole ad occidentem aut senator quisquam a curia atque  
 ab magistratibus abscessit aut populus e foro; matronae, 5  
 quia nihil in ipsis opis erat, in preces obtestationesque  
 30 versae, per omnia delubra vagae suppliciis votisque fatigare  
 deos. tam sollicitae ac suspensae civitati fama incerta 6  
 primo accidit duos Narnienses equites in castra, quae in

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 faucibus Umbriae opposita erant, venisse ex proelio, nun-  
 7 tiantes caesos hostes. et primo magis auribus quam animis  
 id acceptum erat, ut maius laetiusque, quam quod mente  
 capere aut satis credere possent, et ipsa celeritas fidem  
 8 impediēbat, quod biduo ante pugnatum dicebatur. litterae 5  
 deinde ab L. Manlio Acidino missae ex castris adferuntur  
 9 de Narniensium equitum adventu. hae litterae per forum  
 ad tribunal praetoris latae senatum curia exciverunt; tanto-  
 que certamine ac tumultu populi ad fores curiae concursus  
 est, ut adire nuntius non posset, sed traheretur a percunc- 10  
 tantibus vociferantibusque, ut in rostris prius quam in  
 10 senatu litterae recitarentur. tandem summoti et coerciti  
 a magistratibus, dispensarique laetitia inter inpotentes eius  
 11 animos potuit. in senatu primum, deinde in contione  
 litterae recitatae sunt; et pro cuiusque ingenio aliis iam 15  
 certum gaudium, aliis nulla ante futura fides erat, quam  
 legatos consulumve litteras audissent.

51 Ipsos deinde adpropinquare legatos allatum est. tum  
 enim vero omnis aetas currere obvii, primus quisque oculis  
 2 auribusque haurire tantum gaudium cupientes. ad Mulvium 20  
 3 usque pontem continens agmen pervenit. legati—ii erant  
 L. Veturius Philo P. Licinius Varus Q. Caecilius Metellus  
 —circumfusi omnis generis hominum frequentia in forum  
 4 pervenerunt, cum alii ipsos, alii comites eorum, quae acta  
 essent, percunctarentur. et ut quisque audierat exercitum 25  
 hostium imperatoremque occisum, legiones Romanas inco-  
 lumes, salvos consules esse, extemplo aliis porro impertie-  
 5 bant gaudium suum. cum aegre in curiam perventum  
 esset, multo aegrius summoti turba, ne patribus misce-  
 6 retur, litterae in senatu recitatae sunt. inde producti in 30  
 contionem legati. L. Veturius litteris recitatis ipse planius  
 omnia, quae acta erant, exposuit cum ingenti adsensu,

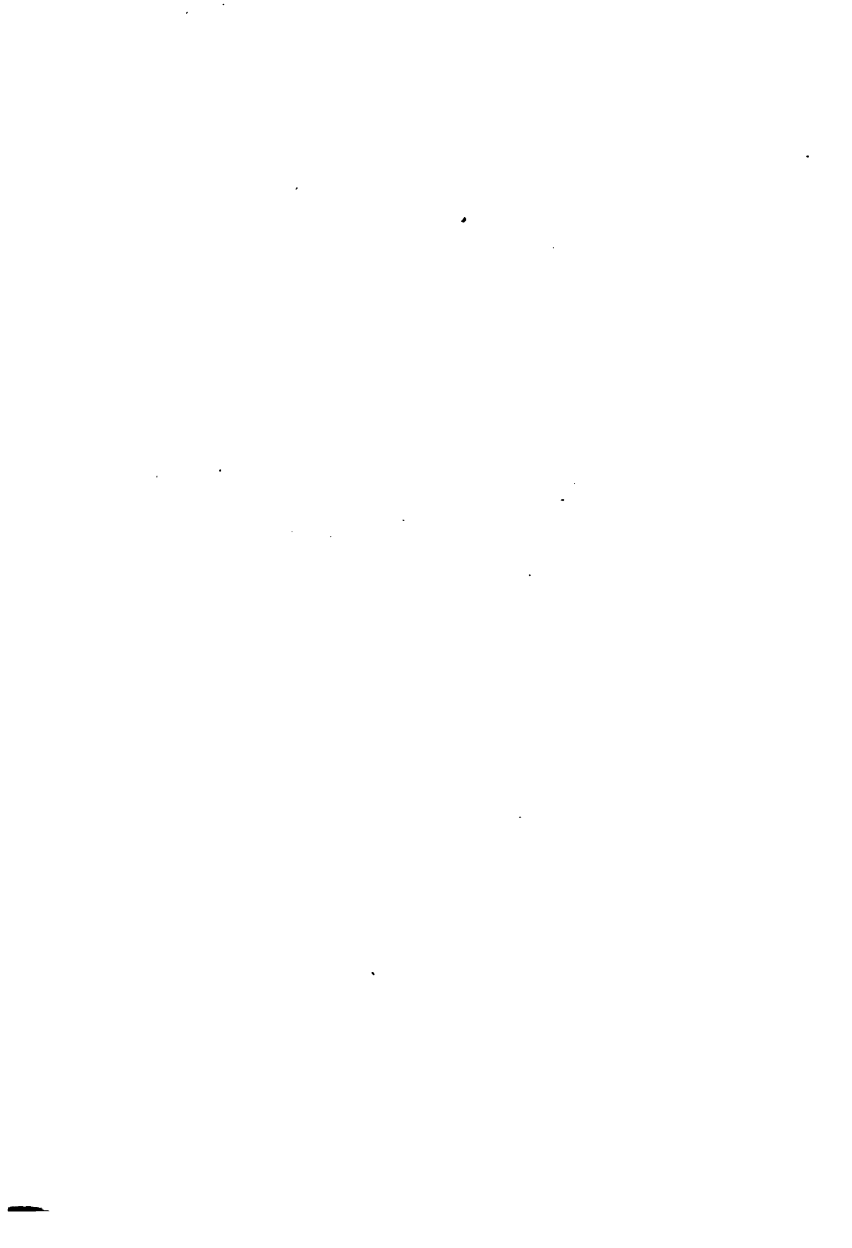
[XXXVI—LI. B.C. 207. *Arrival of Hasdrubal. The Metaurus.*]

postremo etiam clamore universae contionis, cum vix gaudium animis caperent. discursum inde ab aliis circa templa 7  
deum, ut grates agerent, ab aliis domos, ut coniugibus  
liberisque tam laetum nuntium impertirent. senatus, quod 8  
5 M. Livius et C. Claudius consules incolumi exercitu ducem  
hostium legionesque occidissent, supplicationem in triduum  
decrevit. eam supplicationem C. Hostilius praetor pro  
contione edixit, celebrataque a viris feminisque est; omnia- 9  
que templa per totum triduum aequalem turbam habuere,  
10 cum matronae amplissima veste cum liberis, perinde ac si  
debellatum foret, omni solutae metu deis immortalibus  
grates agerent. statum quoque civitatis ea victoria movit, 10  
ut iam inde haud secus quam in pace res inter se contra-  
here vendendo, emendo, mutuam dando argentum credi-  
15 tumque solvendo auderent.

C. Claudius consul cum in castra redisset, caput Has- 11  
drubalis, quod servatum cum cura attulerat,  
proici ante hostium stationes captivosque Afros  
vinctos, ut erant, ostendi, duos etiam ex iis  
20 solutos ire ad Hannibalem et expromere, quae  
acta essent, iussit. Hannibal, tanto simul  
publico familiarique ictus luctu, agnoscere se fortunam  
Carthagini fertur dixisse; castrisque inde motis, ut omnia 13  
auxilia, quae diffusa latius tueri non poterat, in extremum  
25 Italiae angulum Bruttios contraheret, et Metapontinos, civi-  
tatem universam, excitos sedibus suis, et Lucanorum qui  
suae dicionis erant in Bruttium agrum traduxit.

Nero's brutal  
announcement of  
the news to Han-  
nibal. Hannibal  
retires into Brut-  
tium.

12





## NOTES.

### CHAPTER I.

- p. 2. I § 1. *status rerum*] not (young students will notice) the 'state of things', but the 'position or posture of affairs', what is sometimes expressed by the single word 'situation'.
- 2 *Salapia recepta*] the account is given in XXVI. 38. 6 fol. It was on the coast of Apulia and Hannibal's headquarters in B.C. 214.  
*Marmoreas, Meles*] not otherwise known.
- 6 § 2. *aliquantum*] 'a considerable amount', *aliquantus*, when there is no context to determine it, always implies a considerable quantity, never a little.
- 8 *et*] in expressions of this kind Livy usually omits the copulative conjunction, esp. if the *milia* is repeated, cf. 19, § 2, and this chapter § 13. *modium* must be repeated with *hordei*.
- 9 § 3. *tantum, quanta*] condensed comparison. The effect of the success is compared to the disaster itself. So Horace compares the honey of Tarentum to Hymettus, *Odes*, II. vi. 14.  
*Herdonea*] more usually *Herdonia*, now Ortona, in Apulia.
- 11 § 4. *Cn. Fulvius*] Centumalus, consul the year before.
- 15 § 5. *spes ea quod*] in accordance with a favourite usage of Livy, the pronoun agreeing with *spes* is used as equivalent to a preposition with a case of the pronoun, qualifying it; so that the expression = *spes ex eo quod* 'hopes, or confidence, founded on the fact that'. So *haec ira = ira ob hanc rem* &c.  
*iis*] ethical dative. 'They (the inhabitants of Herdonea) were inclined to falter in their loyalty'.
- 19 § 6. *incautum*] predicative, 'off his guard'.
- 20 *ita ut*] qualifies what follows rather than what precedes it. *id, quod* &c. is regularly so used.
- 24 § 7. *ala*] To every Roman army there was attached a body of allies

(*socii*), consisting of infantry and cavalry. The infantry numbered about one-fifth more than the Roman (legionary) infantry, the cavalry were three times as many as the Roman cavalry. One-fifth of the infantry and one-third of the cavalry were selected to attend upon the commander under the name of *extraordinarii*. The remainder were divided into two bodies called *ala dextra* and *ala sinistra*, the name *ala* being applied to the contingent of *socii* (as it was also to the legionary cavalry) because they were supposed to form the wings of the army. The *socii* were apparently equipped and disciplined in the same way as the Roman or legionary troops. The infantry of each *ala* was, apparently, divided into ten *cohortes* of from 400 to 600 men each. It had three Roman officers (*praefecti socium*) corresponding to the tribunes in the legions, and ten native officers (*praefecti cohortium*), one to each cohort. The cavalry were divided into four squadrons (also called *alae* in a narrower sense) known collectively as *equites alares*. The *extraordinarii* were divided, the infantry into four cohorts (*cohortes extraordinariae*), the cavalry into two *alae* (*alae extraordinariae*).

On this occasion Fulvius adopted an arrangement often employed at this time. He placed one legion and the *sinistra ala* in front, and kept the other legion with the *dextra ala* in reserve. Cf. c. 2, § 7.

25 § 8. *signo dato*] 'having passed the word'. *signum* in military usage meant specially the watchword inscribed on a *tessera*, but also any military order whether given by signal or by word of mouth, cf. II. 20 *cohorti signum dat, ut, quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant*.

28 § 9. *pugnantium*] if this word is right, the manoeuvre was not executed until the reserve had entered the fight. But the reading is doubtful. See notes on the text.

*in Fulviis*] 'making a sneering remark on the similarity of name in the case of the two Fulvii', for the use of *in*, cf. III. 17. 8 *ausurum se in tribunis quod princeps familiae suae ausus in regibus esset*. But see notes on text.

29 *practorem*] the account of this man's (Cn. Fulvius Flaccus) defeat in the neighbourhood of Herdonea is given in XXV. 21.

32 § 10. *comminus*] 'fighting at close quarters in the ranks, infantry against infantry'.

p. 3. 1 *ordines*] the maniples; compare the phrase *ordinem ducere* used of a centurion. The standards in battle were in the last ranks of the maniples, and so long as the front ranks held their ground, the standards would be undisturbed.

- 2 *simul*] the chiasmus (very frequent in Livy) is noticeable: *simul* between the two phrases helps to emphasize the simultaneousness of the two alarms.
- 3 § 11. *ante...deinde*] instead of *primum...deinde*, the usage is not classical, and does not occur elsewhere in Livy. See notes on text.
- 4 *qui ad prima* &c.] the *hastati* who formed the first line in battle order.
- 5 *avertit*] 'checked', *lit.* 'turned away', namely, from the fighting in front of them. The word is used absolutely, that is, without a completing phrase. So IX. 19. 17 *mille acies avertit avertetque*, where a *se* or an equivalent must be supplied = 'put to flight' or 'made to turn their backs'.
- § 12. *effusi*] agrees with the sense of *alii* in *pars*.
- 8 § 13. *alibi*] in accordance with a favourite usage of Livy's = a preposition with case of pronoun, *apud alios*.
- 11 § 14. *mansuram*] *sc. esse*, it would have revolted, if he had not arrived, and would not now remain loyal if he (should have) departed. Young students will observe the regular Latin idiom in the tense of *abscessisset*.

## CHAPTER II.

- 19 § 2. *ceterum*] opposes *eundem se* &c. to *duce et exercitu amisso*; a general and army had been lost, but he &c. This adversative use of *ceterum*, not found in Cicero and Caesar, is common in Sallust and Livy, and commonest after a negative sentence.
- 21 *contuderit*] an exaggeration. The defeats inflicted on Hannibal by Marcellus (XXIII. 16, XXIV. 17), if ever inflicted (see Introduction), were very far from crushing. The word is poetical, but frequent in Livy.
- 23 § 3. *et...quidem*] introduce in connexion with a previous statement the first or concessive member of an antithesis, the second being introduced with or without an adversative particle, cf. II. 2. 9 *et ceteri quidem movebant (L. Tarquinium) minus; postquam Sp. Lucretius* &c.
- 25 § 4. *Numistronem*] in Lucania on the borders of Apulia.
- 28 § 5. *addidit*] 'he displayed another proof of his self-confidence', *lit.* 'he added another appearance of one trusting (to himself)'.
- 31 *erigeret*] 'rested with his right on a hill' as we should say; *lit.* 'raised his right up on to a hill', that is, placed his right so that part of it extended some way up the hill.
- p. 4. 2 § 6. *ala*] cf. c. 1, § 7. *ab* 'on the side of'.

- 3 *elephanti*] part of the apposition to *acies*. The first lines consisted on the Roman side of the first legion &c., on the Punic of the Spanish troops &c., and the elephants, brought into action as soon as the battle began.
- 5 § 7. *subiit*] cf. c. 1, § 7.
- 7 § 8. *ex iam segnis*] 'The fight which had begun to slacken was rekindled into new and fierce vigour by the sudden accession of fresh spirit and fresh strength'. For the use of *ex* to express reverse of circumstances, cf. II. 6. 2 *egentem ex tanto modo regno*, where the use of the adv. *modo* is parallel to the use of *iam* here.
- 9 § 9. *in multum dies*] 'till late in the day'. *ad m. d.* is also used.
- 10 *adversus*] adv. 'to oppose them'.  
*per otium*] 'at their leisure', as no one interfered with them, cf. c. 31, § 9.
- 15 § 10. *vestigiiis*] 'to follow on his track', the ablative is local, signifying the space within which the course was limited; so the direction it took. Cf. *Appia via venire, porta introire* &c.
- 16 § 11. *ad Venusiam*] Livy represents Hannibal as having marched south from Herdonea and then north again after the battle with Marcellus, but gives no reason for his movements.
- 17 *procursaretur*] 'skirmishing took place between the outposts, and battles, more violent than important, were fought between mixed bodies of infantry and cavalry'. *procursaretur* the impersonal passive, 'frequent advances took place from &c.'
- 21 § 12. *signa*] The standards being the most conspicuous feature in an army, a number of military movements were expressed by means of them, cf. *signa convertere, convellere, inferre, conferre, constituere*.
- 22 *explorato*] modal or circumstantial ablative of the neut. part. used as a substantive. This substantival use of the part. is found in Cicero, but is far more frequent in Livy, cf. IV. 16. 4 *cautum ne* &c. A few such ablatives, which had practically become adverbs, are found in Cicero, e.g. *auspicato, intestato* &c. But they are far more frequent in Livy, who uses them in fact whenever it is convenient. M. Riemann calls this the abl. absol. used adverbially, but the description given above seems better. The use (frequent also in Livy and later writers) of the ablative of a participle as predicate to a sentence, e.g. *adicto ne quis iniussu pugnaret*, is different from this.  
*ante*] qualifies *explorato*.

## CHAPTER III.

24 § 1. *Flaccus*] subject to the subordinate clause only, is placed outside of it to give prominence to the name and mark the transition from Apulia and Marcellus to Capua and Flaccus.

*bonis &c.*] cf. xxvi. 34. 3—6. Amongst other punishments inflicted on the Capuans in B.C. 211, the land and personal property of all who had been senators, or had held any office, were confiscated.

26 *frumento*] It is not clear whether this is to be understood literally of a rent paid in corn only, or of a rent in kind generally. The *ager Campanus* seems never to have been occupied by *possessores* technically so called, but to have been let in small farms to temporary lessees. The letting of *ager publicus* was generally managed by the censors at Rome, and Livy tells us (c. 11, § 8) that in B.C. 209 the censors let the *ager Campanus*. What was the necessity for the second letting so soon after the first he does not tell us. Possibly Flaccus had not time to complete the work.

*ne*] the thought underlying the final clause seems to be the recognition of a divine purpose in misfortunes. The gods were determined that the Capuans should never cease provoking the resentment of the Romans, as long as they existed. Friedersd. compares VII. 27. 1, xxvi. 41. 8. On Livy's piety see Teuffel, *Roman Literature*, I. 500. Livy appears to have no doubt that this fire as well as the fire in Rome (xxvi. 27) was really the work of Capuan conspirators. Dr Ihne (*Rom. Hist.* II. 344) is of opinion that the story about the origin of the former fire was concocted by the informer.

27 *novum*] in reference to the fire in Rome.

28 *protractum*] 'brought to light', in this sense = *protractum in lucem* apparently not used before Livy.

30 § 2. *simul... simul*] this use is not found in Cicero and only once in Caesar, but is frequent in Livy, as also in Vergil. The equivalence in construction of the final clause and the participle is Livian Graecising.

*tecta*] cf. Cic. *leg. Agr.* II. 32. 88, speaking of Capua, *ut aratores urbis domiciliis uterentur, idcirco illa aedificia non esse deleta.*

p. 5. 1 *militariter*] in sense qualifies *tecta* rather than *aedificare*. This use of adverbs qualifying substantives is a feature of Livy's style, e.g. *trium populorum tres separatim acies instruxit.*

4 § 3. *alimentis*] 'as if on purpose to make fuel for fire', participial use of the subst., cf. IV. 13. 11 and note in App., Pitt Press edition.

10 § 5. *aeris*]=*assium*. The *as* at this time had been reduced to the weight of 1 *uncia*.

§ 6. *Nucerinos*] Their town was taken in B. C. 216 by Hannibal, XXIII. 15, as was also *Aterrae* XXIII. 17. The inhabitants of both had taken refuge in different Campanian towns.

Atella and Calatia surrendered to the Romans in B. C. 211, and were treated with the same severity as Capua, XXVI. 16 and 34. Appian ascribes the transplantation of the Atellani to Hannibal and says that he settled them in Thurii.

Nuceria was subsequently rebuilt.

16 § 8. *nunc...nunc*] not used before Livy. Earlier prose-writers use *modo...modo*.

18 *Tarentinae*] That city was at this time in the possession of Hannibal, but the citadel was still held by the Roman garrison.

21 § 9. *exercitu urbano*] appears to include the *legiones urbanae*—Roman troops levied for the protection of Rome, serving generally for one year in the city, but liable to be ordered out at any time in an emergency,—and the contingent of *socii* attached to them. In B. C. 225 there appear to have been 20,000 such legionary troops and 30,000 *socii* serving in the city. There would of course be much fewer now.

22 *in praesidium*] 'to act as convoy'; *praesidium* is abstract here, and *in* expresses the aim or purpose. Cicero has this use, e.g. *denarium xxxix milia contulerunt in statuam*, but it is not common before Livy.

#### CHAPTER IV.

24 § 1. *aestas*] presents a difficulty, because at this time the consular elections were held in January. Dr Mommsen, however, *Staatsr.* I. 564, says that Livy's statement is quite compatible with that fact. It is just possible that Livy wrote *annus*, though § 11 makes it very unlikely.

25 *Marcelli*] who being the consul in Italy would naturally be applied to first to hold the *comitia*.

26 *e re publica*] the ablative with *ex* is used in a modal sense expressing that on which an action is based, as the (1) standard or (2) circumstance of the action. Hence (1) *e re publica* in accordance with the public interests, *statues ex nostra dignitate* &c., and (2) such modal adverb phrases as *ex insperato* &c.

*vestigium*] as *vestigium* is used of time as well as space this might

- mean 'for an instant', but it more probably means 'a foot's breadth', cf. Cic. *pro Deiot.* c. 15 *negat unquam se a te pedem discessisse.*
- 28 § 2. *ne*] after the sense of fearing implied in *curam iniicerant.* This and similar difficulties, cf. XXII. 33. 9, XXV. 41. 8, led to the establishment of the rule that, when both consuls had to leave Rome, they should before their departure decide by arrangement or lot which was to be responsible for holding the consular elections, cf. XXXV. 20. 2.
- p. 6. 7 § 6. *Syphace*] a Numidian chieftain, who by making war on the Carthaginians in B.C. 213, necessitated the withdrawal of Hasdrubal with a large force from Spain and so facilitated the success of the two Scipios.
- 9 § 6. *nec...adfirmabant*] not *negabant*, because the statement made is virtually positive, not negative. They declared that S. was the bitter enemy the Carthaginians had &c.
- 13 *imperatores*] if the plural here and the term *imperator* applied to Cn. Scipio in his brother's life-time (XXV. 32. 1) are correct, he must have been invested with *imperium* by decree of the people. But it seems more likely that he was only *legatus* to his brother, who in the year after his consulship went as proconsul to Spain, and that the term *imperator* in both these places is used loosely.
- 15 *voluisse*] 'had determined'.
- 18 § 6. *sellam*] a similar present made to kings is mentioned, XXX. 15, XXXI. 11, XLII. 14.
- 19 *pondo*] old abl. of *pondus* by a regular ellipse of *libra* came to be used as indecl. subst. = 'pounds'.
- § 9. *protinus*] i.e. going straight from Syphax, cf. XXI. 9 *apparebat non admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros.*
- 21 *terna*] agreeing with *pondo* as indecl. subst., and in apposition to *paterae aureae*, 'golden *paterae* each of three pounds weight'.
- 23 § 10. *commemorandam*] Ptolemy II. Philadelphus had concluded a treaty of alliance with Rome in B.C. 273. The Pt. mentioned here was Ptolemy IV. Philopator.
- 26 *amiculo*] this was a garment corresponding to the *lacerna* of men, a second cloak or mantle thrown over the *palla*, which corresponded to the men's *toga*. Underneath the *palla* was the *stola*, a tunic with a border (*instita*) reaching to the feet, underneath that, the *tunica interior*.
- Polybius ascribes this embassy to a desire to get supplies of corn on account of dearth at Rome.
- 28 § 11. *Tusculi*] qualifies both clauses.

- 32 *Compitum An.*] 'the Anagnine junction', a station on the *via Latina*, 8 miles from Ferentinum. Anagnia stood about 1 mile away from the *via Latina*.
- P. 7. 4 § 14. *cum*] as in the expressions *cum armis, vestibus* &c., signifies an external addition to the person or thing qualified by the prepositional phrase; the pig was born wearing a human head; so c. 11, § 5 *cum elephanti capite puerum*.
- 5 *Feroniae*] an ancient Italian deity, who had a grove and temple in the Capenatian territory as well as in other parts of Italy.
- 6 § 16. *maioribus*] full-grown victims opp. to *lactentes*.
- 7 *pontificum*] the ordinary authorities on such subjects; sometimes the Haruspices, had to be called in, sometimes the Sibylline books had to be consulted by the *decemviri sacris faciundis*. See Capes' *Livy*, XXI., XXII., App. II.
- 8 *ad omnia pulvinaria*] cf. XXIV. 10. 3 *supplicatio omnibus deis, quorum pulvinaria Romae essent, indicta est*. The deities 'who had *pulvinaria*', that is, who figured in a *lectisternium* are given XXII. 10. 9. Their number and names, representing as they do the twelve great gods of the Greek system, are one indication among others of the Greek origin of the *lectisternium*. On this occasion the *supplicatio* as was frequently the case was combined with a *lectisternium*.

## CHAPTER V.

- 11 § 1. *Cincio*] cf. XXVI. 28 in which the disposition of troops for this year is given.
- 17 § 3. *prope*] 54 years, B.C. 264—210.
- 19 *pr. confecisse*] the phrase regularly used to express the complete reduction of a people necessary to forming it into a province of the Roman people, cf. Cic. *de Imp. Pomp.* x. 28 *plures provincias confecit quam alii concupiverunt*. For the fact cf. XXVI. 40.
- § 4. *neminem* &c.] On the reading see notes on text.
- 24 § 5. *fidissimum*] a poetical use of the word, probably not found in prose before *Livy*.
- § 6. *Muttine*] the Libyphenician general sent to Sicily by Hannibal in B.C. 212, who at the head of the Numidian cavalry gave Marcellus and Laevinus great trouble, and threatened to alter the aspect of affairs in Sicily. But in 210 being deprived of his command by Hanno, who was jealous of him, he deserted the Carthaginians and betrayed Agrigentum to the Romans, cf. XXV. 40, XXVI. 40.



- 27 *consulis*] The promise is not mentioned by Livy, but probably formed part of the negotiations mentioned XXVI. 40. 8.
- 28 § 7. *ad plebem*] Since the Hortensian law, circ. B.C. 287, there had been three coordinate assemblies at Rome, the *comitia centuriata* and *tributa* of the whole people, and the *concilium plebis*. The division of functions between them is obscure, the more so as the term *comitia tributa* seems to have been applied to the *concilium plebis* as well. The business of the centuriate assembly seems by this time to have become practically confined to the election of consuls, censors and praetors, and the decreeing of aggressive war.
- P. 8. 1 § 9. *mortalibus*] = *hominibus*, a common use in Sallust, in Livy confined generally to speeches and descriptions of battles.
- 3 *quam*] cf. c. 7, § 1. On the whole Livy more often omits the *post* in such expressions than he inserts it.
- 6 § 10. *ordine*] modal abl., without attribute, one of the comparatively few, as is *silentio* also (c. 2, § 10), used by earlier prose writers, as well as Livy.
- 8 § 11. *Masinissa*] XXIV. 49. 4, XXV. 34. 1.
- 10 *conduci*] The Carthaginians themselves refused service in the army, and their dependents mostly commuted for it by money payment, so that the bulk of their armies consisted of mercenaries.
- 12 § 12. *primo quoque*] *primus quisque* has two meanings, (1) 'one after another', as *decimus quisque* = 'every tenth', and (2) 'the very first', as here.
- 13 *in eo*] i.e. the junction of the two commanders.
- 19 § 15. *illa*] cf. c. 1, § 5, 'a dispute arising from the fact that'.
- 21 *Romanum agrum*] as the next words show, means any land possessed by the Roman people within the boundaries of Italy. Roman land in the provinces was not *ager Romanus*. In earlier times the term was confined to the precincts of the city itself.
- 23 § 16. *tribunus*] The tribunes had at this time the right to bring motions before the senate and to summon it. When they acquired this right is quite uncertain, but it would follow naturally from the Hortensian law. The first undoubted instance of the exercise of the right is B.C. 216, Livy, XXII. 61. 7.  
*consuleret*] see Livy, IV. 43. 4 (Pitt Press edition).
- 25 *rogaret...iussisset*] the regular terms for the proposal and passing a resolution in *comitia*.
- 28 *tum tribunis*] If the dictator and praetor both refused to hold the *comitia centuriata* for the purpose, the tribunes should bring the

question before the *plebis concilium* (*comitia tributa*), cf. § 7. This mode of nominating a dictator was quite exceptional. After the battle of Lake Trasimenus Fabius was appointed dictator by resolution of the people, because one consul was dead and the other absent. On that occasion also a praetor must have held the *comitia*.

20 § 17. *quod...esset*] the naming of a dictator, after the senate had authorised it, was entirely at the discretion of the consul, though he usually named the man desired by the senate.

31 *Capuam*] at this time in *ager Romanus*.

p. 9. 5 § 10. *dictus*] Livy does not tell us where. Marcellus cannot have come to Rome. *ex*, cf. c. 4, § 1.

#### CHAPTER VI.

16 § 3. *praerogativa*] The new arrangement of the *comitia centuriata* was in force at this time by which the Servian division into classes was combined with the division into tribes. Each tribe was divided according to wealth into five classes, each class according to age into two halves. Thus each of the tribes contained 10 centuries, and 70 centuries (35 *juniorum*, 35 *seniorum*) formed one class. The 18 centuries of *equites* were added to the 350 centuries forming the tribes. The knights lost their privilege of voting first, and the century that voted first (*praerogativa*) was chosen by lot.

17 *iure vocatae*] is opposite to *sorte*, the other centuries being called up according to fixed order. See Mommsen, *R. H.* II. 353.

18 § 4. *neque...et*] 'not only not...but', re-election at all was scarcely compatible with civil equality (democratic principles), but the precedent became far more objectionable when it was the presiding magistrate himself who was elected.

21 § 5. *intercessuros*] the veto on a rogation would seem to have been possible at any time before the voting was completed, perhaps even up to the time of the declaration of the result. In case of elections, where the candidates were known beforehand, the intention to veto a candidate's election was declared at the opening of the proceedings. In the present case, the candidates were not known apparently until the *praerogativa* had given its vote. The incident is evidence that the dictatorship at this time was not, as in earlier times, beyond the reach of tribunician intercession.

*nomen accipere* was said of the presiding magistrate who allowed a candidate to be voted for as duly qualified. *rationem habere* also used in a technical sense of allowing the candidature of a person.

- 22 *praeterquam*] 'except'.
- 23 § 6. *auctoritate*] *senatus auctoritas* and *patrum auctoritas* had both of them a special and limited sense, the former meaning a decree of the senate, which was vetoed by a tribune, the latter (as subst. of *patres auctores funt*) meaning the sanction of the patrician portion of the senate required to give validity to acts of the *comitia*, which in later times became a mere form, being given before the voting began *in incertum comitiorum eventum*, Livy, I. 17. 9, VIII. 12. 15. But Livy uses both expressions constantly in the general sense of a resolution of the senate, authorising or directing state action of some kind on the part of officials, or the *comitia*, so practically equivalent to *senatus consultum. causam*] forensic term. Livy personifies the *comitia* and speaks of it as of a party in a legal dispute. The 'cause' or 'case' of the *comitia*= the 'action of' or 'proceedings in' it.
- 27 § 7. The plebiscite here mentioned suspended the one passed B. C. 342, VII. 42. 2.
- 29 § 8. *exemplaue*] distributed by *vetus* and *recens* in apposition. *in eam rem*] 'in point', 'bearing on this question'.
- 30 *Megelli*] B. C. 291. *Fabi*, B. C. 215, XXIV. 9. 3.
- p. 10. I *bono publico*] abl. of circumstance, cf. *passimo publico*, II. 1. 3. *feret*] not 'unless it had been done' on that occasion, but 'unless it were a thing (that might be) done' at any time.
- 4 § 10. *tempus*] 'crisis'. *expertos* used absolutely, 'experienced'.
- 15 § 13. *Olbiensem...Caralitanum*] Olbia and Caralis, two towns founded by Phenicians, were on the N.E. and S. coasts of Sardinia respectively.
- 20 § 15. *suffecti*] condensed=*aliquie in eorum locum suffecti*.
- 25 § 16. *rex*] This is the first mention of this official since IX. 43. The last mention of the Curio Maximus occurs III. 7. 6.
- 30 § 17. *Crassum*] c. 5, § 19, he is mentioned as *magister equitum* to Fulvius; whether he was censor at that time does not appear. The combination of religious and civil offices in the same person was of course entirely compatible with the Roman constitution.
- 32 *ex aedil.*] As a rule consulars only were eligible for the censorship; only six exceptions are recorded.
- p. 11. 2 § 18. *diremis*] sc. *censuram*.
- 5 § 19. *instaurarunt*] if in the performance of games any interruption occurred, or any mistake was made, if they were performed *non rite, non recte*, or *minus diligenter*, then either the whole must be performed over again (*toti instaurati sunt*) or that part must be repeated in which the

vitiating circumstance occurred. In the latter case the number of days of the repeated performance was specified, e.g. *ter instaurati* or *per, in triduum instaurati*.

7 *ad Cereris*] sc. *aedem*, the ellipse is only allowable after a preposition; II. 7. 12, Madvig inserts *aedes*.

*dedere*] 'presented, dedicated, at the temple'; an official use of the verb.

*pro*] 'in proportion to', 'considering'.

#### CHAPTER VII.

10 § 1. *quam*] c. 5, § 9. *Tarracone*. Livy seems to have forgotten that in XXVI. 51. 2 he despatched Laelius from Nova Carthago.

17 § 8. *comperta*] sc. *sunt*.

27 § 6. *quod*] in apposition to *annum...consumpsisse*, practically equivalent to an adversative conj. 'whereas'.

p. 12. 6 § 7. *gereret*] these subjunctives are indirect imperatives.

9 § 8. *cum Gallia*] cf. c. 29, § 3 *provincia peregrina et quo senatus censuisset*. Both forms implied that the *praetor peregrinus* might be ordered to serve out of Rome if required by the senate. In that case his duties devolved on the *praetor urbanus*.

11 § 9. *Fulvio*] *datae* must be supplied from *divisi*.

13 § 10. *urbanus*] c. 3, § 9; if *ut* here as Weissenb. says = 'with the proviso that', there should be a comma only at *praefuisset*; but it is more probably due to Livy's love of variety, and means the same as the indirect imperatives that follow.

14 *eidem*] c. 6, § 1.

22 § 12. *Fulvi*] c. 1.

23 § 18. *addita*] sc. *est*.

24 *ignominia*] The soldiers who survived Cannae were condemned to serve in Sicily so long as the war in Italy lasted, XXIII. 25. 8. In B.C. 211, when the same punishment was inflicted on the soldiers of the praetor Fulvius' army, the further penalty was added to both that they were not to winter in a town, or in quarters within ten miles of a town, XXVI. 1. 10.

*quique*] *qui...fuerant* is coupled to *Cannenses*.

*militabant*] is predicate to both.

25 *similis*] the order is peculiar; the object is to emphasize *similis* and *iram*.

31 § 15. *iussae*] 'were ordered to be sent' (as we also say) instead of the more strictly correct 'it was ordered that &c. should be sent', owing

to the preference in Latin for the personal rather than impersonal form in such expressions.

## CHAPTER VIII.

- p. 13. 7 § 1. *curionis*] Livy describes this inaccurately as the election of a *sacerdos*. It was the election of one of the *curiones* (already *sacerdotes*) to be president of them. The election of the *Curio maximus* by the *comitia (tributa, prob.)* is explained by the fact that he was regarded as a magistrate as well as a priest.
- 9 § 2. *patriciis*] Mommsen and Weissenb. assume that this was not a protest of individual patricians, but a refusal on the part of the patrician part of the senate to sanction (*auctores fieri*) the election. But it would appear to be the only instance of such refusal since the alteration referred to, c. 6, § 6.
- 14 § 3. *potestatem*] 'made the power over the matter the people's', that is, 'gave the people full power to decide the matter'. So XLII. 22. 6 *praetores consulis arbitrium fecere*. The phrase is the causative of *est mea (tua &c.) potestas* 'I have the power'.  
*ita*] i.e. accordingly proceeded with the election of Atellus, who became the first plebeian *Curio maximus*.
- 16 § 4. *inaugurari*] in the case of the three great *flamines* and the *rex sacrorum*, this took place in *comitia calata*. It was performed by the *Pontifex maximus*, who with the assistance of an augur enquired of the gods by auspices whether the person chosen was agreeable to them.  
*coegit*] It seems that in the case of *flamines* and the *rex sacrorum* the high priest had the power of compulsory nomination. Compare the case of L. Cornelius Dolabella in B.C. 180 (XL. 42). He was *duumvir navalis*, and refusing to obey the order of the *pontifex maximus* to give up his office in order to be appointed *rex sacrorum* was fined by him, a decision upheld on appeal by a majority of the tribes, though in consequence of a *vitium* occurring the voting was not completed.
- 20 § 5. *fama*] prob. nom. case.
- 22 *captus*] the regular word used for selection by the high priest. So *vestalem capere*. Acc. to Weissenb. the full expression was *manu capere* because the flamen or vestal was made over to the god by *mancipatio*.
- 30 § 7. *introiret*] that is, take his seat there as a member.  
 § 8. *cum*] The object of the subordinate verb is also the subject of the principal.
- 32 *datum...esse*] dep. on *dixit* implied in *repetebat*. On the *flamen Dialis* see Prof. Seeley's note on I. 20. 2.

- p. 14. 3 § 9. *volebas*] 'willed' = 'held the opinion', 'ruled', a common use of the word in Cicero; *vetustate* qualifies *exoletis*, *annalium* qualifies *exemplis*, 'mouldy historical precedents'; *recentissimae* &c., 'the latest precedents', *lit.* 'the practice of each most recent custom'.
- 5 § 10. *ipsis*] the individual flamens.
- 12 § 11. *legiones, in supplementum*] asyndeton. The consuls levied two urban legions to supply the place of those sent into Etruria, § 12, cf. 7, § 10; and sufficient troops to raise the other legions to their full strength, *scripserunt tantum militum quantum* &c., *in supplementum*. The urban legions were for the defence of the city and for service in emergency, c. 3, § 9.
- 16 § 12. *ducendum...deducendas*] 'assigned the duty of conducting' &c. Compare with all this passage c. 7, § 7 fol.
- 24 § 15. *veteres*] the Cannensian legions.
- 26 *haberet*] sc. *Laevinus*.  
*Epicydís*] who with Hanno escaped to Carthage when Muttines betrayed Agrigentum, XXVI. 40. 11.
- 30 § 17. *regnum Hieronis*] i.e., besides the immediate district of Syracuse, the domains of Elorus, Neetum, Acrae, Leontini, Megara, and Tauromenium, Mommsen, *R. H.* II. 63.
- 31 *divisam* &c.] no such division ever existed. It has been suggested to read *regii* instead of *Romani*. But there is no authority for the change, and it hardly mends matters. The sentence is probably a historical impromptu on Livy's part.
- p. 15. 2 § 18. *provinciam*] The province formed after the first Punic war, now recovered by the Romans, subsequently known as *vetus provincia*. *dominos* is used loosely here. The Sicilian farmers would not be owners, but tenants.
- 3 *ab*] adapted to the notion of distinguishing implied in *notaret*.
- 4 *perinde*] 'accordingly'.
- § 19. *ita*] 'consequently', *ea cura* (abl.) *tantum fr. provenit* 'such a large crop was produced'; *ita* signifies the result of the inspection further explained by the modal abl.

## CHAPTER IX.

- 8 § 1. *erant* &c.] 'belonged to the Latin Name and allies'. See Introduction II.
- 10 *adeo*] 'so true is it that', qualifies the whole sentence, which is introduced to increase the credibility of the previous one.
- 11 *momenta*] 'trifling, unimportant events are often the immediate

- causes of great and momentous ones (great crises)'. *magn. mom. r. lit.* 'the inclinations (that is, taken out of the metaphor from a balance, the beginnings of a certain course or direction) of great events', cf. III. 27. 7 *puncto saepe temporis maximarum rerum momenta verti.*
- 13 § 2. *conciiliis*] used generally of meetings called together for this purpose, not regular assemblies.  
*dilectibus, stipendiis*] asyndeton; *stip.* money contributions, cf. § 7.
- 16 § 3. *magis perire*] 'was more lost to them'.
- 22 § 4. *cum maxime*] 'at this very moment', strictly speaking elliptical, *nunc florens cum maxime floret*, practically a single adv. intensifying *nunc*. It grew out of the use of *cum maxime* with its own verb, as, *haec cum maxime loqueretur, lictores cum circumstant.*
- 23 *legantur*] 'levied', cf. *legio*.
- 24 § 5. *res ipsa*] 'what circumstances would soon refuse for them'.  
*priusquam...perveniant* of course qualify *negandum esse*; *ipsa* of themselves, without the people having to do it.
- 30 § 7. *populi R.*] i.e. colonies planted by the Roman people, the Latin colonies, included in the *nomen Latinum*.
- 31 *omnium*] 'deputations from all being then at Rome', summoned very likely to report as to the amount of troops that their states could supply.
- P. 16. 10 § 10. *integra*] 'reconsider this matter from the beginning; deal with (look on) this abominable design as one that has gone no further than words, and so talk it over with your people at home'.  
*locuti* &c. are an expansion of *integra re* and so included in the qualification by *tamquam*; for the meaning of *integra res*, cf. II. 5. 1 *de bonis regis res integra ad patres refertur* 'the question of the disposal of the royal property (previously settled) was reopened &c.'
- 12 *Romanos*] There were enough Roman settlers in the later Latin colonies to justify this rhetorical statement.
- 16 § 12. *tum quidem*] 'your present wild (thoughtless) scheme'; *quidem* opposes *tum* to what the consuls hoped from fresh deliberations.
- 17 *prodendi...tradendae*] descriptive genitives, cf. III. 24 *legis tollendae frustrationem*, here expressing the tendency of the action. The use is found in Cicero.
- 18 § 13. *alternis*] adv. backwards and forwards, implies prolonged dialogue between the consuls and the ambassadors. 'A prolonged discussion, and repeated appeals in the same strain from the consuls produced no effect on the deputies who affirmed &c.'
- 21 *ubi*] abstract, 'in a case where', 'with no men to enlist, or money to be given &c.' *novi*, cf. c. 14, § 5, c. 18, § 10.

## CHAPTER X.

p. 17. 1 § 2. *facere*] indirect imperatives, *ut* omitted.

2 *us*] 'as'; *e re publica* c. 4, § 1. The phrase, which is legal and official in form, is common in this connexion, cf. XXII. 11. 2.

4 *formula*] was the document possessed by all the Latin colonies in which was stated the amount of men and money which they undertook to furnish to the Roman state. This was not probably a fixed amount, but a certain fraction of their population and income for the time being.

8 § 4. *velletque*] this seems to be more than mere formal fulness of expression. They were prepared to meet the wishes of the Roman people, not only to furnish what it had a right to command.

10 § 5. *parum pro m.*] 'less than their merits deserved'.

11 *nisi*] condensed expression '(and that justice would not be done to them) unless' &c.

13 § 6. *decreto*] = 'vote of thanks'.

14 *ad populum*] in order to give the people also due opportunity of expressing their gratitude, cf. § 9.

26 § 10. *neque*] supply *iusserunt* from *vetuerunt*.

30 § 11. *expedientibus*] both the verb and the tense express the difficulty of the task, 'doing their best to raise the necessaries of war'.

31 *vicensimarium*] by the *lex Manlia*, B. C. 357, a tax was levied on all manumissions of slaves of 5 per cent. of the value of the slaves manumitted. This was invested in ingots of gold and deposited in the *aerarium Saturni*. The *aerarium sanctius* was a chamber or chest in the *aerarium Sat.* probably so called from its containing this fund. It is mentioned in B. C. 49, when by Caesar's orders money was taken out of it, and also by Quintilian (first century A. D.) but not later.

p. 18. 2 § 12. *inde*] = *ex iis*, c. 1, § 13. *pondo*, c. 4, § 9.

4 *Veturio*] c. 7, § 8.

5 § 13. *additum*] *pondo* with numerals is sometimes treated as singular, XXXIX. 5. 7 *in eam rem sibi centum pondo auri a civitatibus conlatum* (*esse*). Compare the old-fashioned use in English 'a hundred &c. pound'.

6 *praecipuum*] substantival use of the adj. in apposition to *centum... auri*.

7 *ad vestimenta*] 'in procuring by contract for immediate payment clothing for the army, which &c.' In the case of state contracts the state was *locator*, those who undertook the contract, generally one or



more companies (*societates*) were *conductores, redemptores, publicani*. The agents for the government in this case were the *quaestors*. With this contract on ready money terms should be compared the contract mentioned XXIII. 48. 4—49. 4, B.C. 215, which was undertaken on condition of payment being made as soon as there was any money in the treasury.

According to Polybius the Roman soldiers had the price of their rations and clothing deducted from their pay. Livy does not say that the clothing mentioned here was a present to the army, but *qui...gerebat* seems to imply it. The *socii* received corn and clothing free, but received no pay from the Roman treasury.

8 *fama*] circumstantial abl. like *meo periculo, bono publico* &c.

## CHAPTER XI.

- 10 § 1. *proficiscerentur*] cf. c. 37, § 1.
- 11 § 2. *signum*] in the temple of Jupiter Latiaris.
- 12 *lacus*] if the reading is right, probably a reservoir or basin connected with the salt works at Ostia, cf. I. 33. 8; *lucus* has been suggested, but there is no MS. authority for it.
- 14 § 3. *aquam Albanam*] perhaps the canal made B.C. 397 (v. 16. 9) to carry off the surplus water of the Alban lake.
- 16 *Fortis F.*] on the other side of the Tiber. *Fors* has been explained as an abbreviation of *fortis*, but the name is probably a repetition, like *Anna Perenna*, see Ovid, *F.* VI. 773, Paley's note.
- signum*] a small figure; *de capite* sc. *deae*.
- 21 § 5. *pleraque*] 'many things'; gov. by *appellat*.
- 22 *cum*] c. 4, § 14.
- 23 § 6. *maioribus*] c. 4, § 15. *supplicatio*, *ibid*.
- 24 *obsecratio*] solemn form of prayer, not necessarily included in the *supplicatio* which, as the word suggests, consisted mainly in adoring postures, prostration before the images of the gods, embracing their knees &c.; cf. IV. 21. 5, where the *decemviri sacrorum* prescribed the form of prayer.
- 26 *iis annis*] 'in these years', 'in the last year or so', cf. XXV. 12. 11, XXVI. 23. 3.
- 28 § 7. *comitia*] censors were elected in *comitia centuriata*.
- 31 § 8. *agrum Campanum*] c. 3, § 1.
- 32 *auctoritate*] cf. c. 6, § 6.
- ad plebem*] cf. c. 5, § 7.

p. 19. 2 § 9. *tenuit*] 'delayed'. It would seem from this that the choice of *princeps* was the first business in revising the Senate list, and that the censors drew lots to decide which should appoint. Livy, as Weissenb. says, cannot mean that one censor managed the whole revision, because in XL. 51. 1 he says *censores fideli concordia senatum legerunt*. In fact this casting lots for the *lectio principis* does not appear elsewhere. XXXIV. 44. 4, we have *censores... principem senatus P. Scipionem quem et priores censores legerant legerunt*. If also the choice was assigned by lot, there seems no ground for the other censor's interference, and the principle he enunciates was not acted upon in later times certainly.

6 § 11. *Manlius*] had been elected censor in B.C. 231, but had retired as *vicio creatus*.

10 *victurus*] 'prove even to the satisfaction of H. to be &c.', compare the use of *pugno* with acc. and infin., *lit.* 'would victoriously maintain even with H. for judge'.

13 § 12. *alius*] Livy uses *alius* as = Greek ὁ ἄλλος 1. 12. 9; XXVI. 8. 5. *praeteritis*] see Livy IV. (Pitt Press ed.) Introd. p. xiv and note. Weissenb. says that the word includes *loco moti*. Metellus however was not a senator, but eligible as *ex-quaestor*. But he had been disgraced by the censors before, XXIV. 18. 2 fol., 43. 3.

15 § 13. *equestribus*] 'in disgracing *equites* also the same rule was observed'; the *nota censoria* was the mark affixed by the censors to a man's name in the register, expressing their disapprobation, with the reason assigned (*subscriptio censoria*).

17 *attingeret*] the regular subj. after *sunt qui*, meaning not 'there are certain definite people who do so and so', but 'there are people who come within a general description'.

§ 14. *equi*] to take away his horse from an *eques* and to order him to sell it (*vendere iubere*) seem to have been equivalent expressions. The question suggests itself (and I believe no one has answered it) who got the price, the *eques* or the state? Perhaps it depended on what the cause was for which the horse was taken away. In the present case it is clear that either the actual horses were taken away, or the price refunded to the state. Otherwise the *equites* could not be said to serve *equis privatis*; on the other hand, in cases when the order was made on account of physical incapacity, the *eques* might with justice be allowed to retain the price of the horse originally furnished him by the state, as the cost of serving in the cavalry must have exceeded the amount of his pay and allowances. Again, did the state renew the *equus publicus* in

case of its dying or being disabled? There is no evidence I think to show that it did. If it did not, there would be many men nominally serving *equo publico*, but really *equis privatis*. These could hardly be expected to refund the price to the state, if compelled *vendere equum*, except as a special punishment.

It should be noticed that these men were not condemned to serve in the infantry. It seems to have been a principle regularly observed that no one eligible to serve in the cavalry should serve in the infantry. Cases of voluntary service on foot in emergencies prove nothing against the general rule.

- 19 *tempus*] 'the severity of the sentence was increased by an additional term of service, for their past campaigns which &c. were not allowed to count'.

*ne*] depends on the prohibition implied in *addiderunt tempus*. For the use of *procedo*, cf. XXV. 5. 8 *ut qui minores septemdecim annis sacramento dixissent, iis perinde stipendia procederent ac si septemdecim annorum aut maiores (older) milites facti essent*.

- 20 *iis*] is masc.; antecedent to *quae* is *stipendia*.

- 22 § 15. *deberent*] it seems clear from this, that by this time service in the cavalry *privato equo* had become compulsory on certain citizens and was not purely voluntary as represented in v. 7. It seems that all in the first class possessed of a certain property (how much is quite uncertain, but enough to enable them easily to bear the expense of cavalry service) were expected not only to fill up vacancies caused by casualties in war, but to supply the additional cavalry required for the largely increased armies of the republic, and to do this with horses of their own. Rich men keeping horses of their own and able to ride would be the obvious material for such a purpose.

*ex iis*] 'of these recusants all who had been 17 years old &c.'

- 24 *aerarios*] *aerarium*, *in aerariis relinquere*, *in aerarios referre* are other forms of the same expression.

It seems a question whether reducing a person to the *aerarii* at this time meant depriving him of his vote, as in earlier times, because *tribus movere*, which generally appears as part of the full expression for this process, meant at this time, not, as in earlier times, excluding a person from a tribe altogether, but transferring him from a *tribus rustica* to the inferior position of a member of a *tribus urbana*. At the same time a person so reduced was probably subjected to the pecuniary disadvantage of being taxed as *aerarius* on all his property of all kinds, compare IV. 24.

- 25 § 16. *incendio*] XXVI. 27.

*septem tabernas*] part of the row of shops on the S. side of the lower Forum known as *veteres* in opposition to the *novae* on the other side. These shops were known also as *Argentariae*, being in later times occupied almost entirely by bankers and goldsmiths.

- 26 *macellum*] called in XXVI. 27 *forum piscatorium* apparently in the neighbourhood of the *Argiletum*.

*atrium*] otherwise called *atrium Vestae*, and *regia* (from having been the dwelling place of Numa), a building, occupied in republican times by the *Pontifex maximus*, connecting the temple of Vesta with the *comitium*.

#### CHAPTER XII.

- p. 20. 5 § 3. *ne...quidem*] οὐδέ, 'not...either', here emphasizes *morandi in Italia*. If Tarentum were taken from the enemy now repulsed (balked) at every point, with nowhere to make a stand and nowhere to look to for loyal support, he could have no further motive for staying in Italy.
- 8 § 3. *milia*] in apposition to *quod*, *pars* in apposition to *milis*. This portion was 4000, cf. XXVI. 40. 17 where a description of them is given. *rapto vivere* 'to live by plunder' = *per latrocinia ac rapinam tolerantis vitam* in the passage referred to. *Agathyrna* a place on the N. coast of Sicily, a sort of cave of Adullam, where these victims of the laws had congregated.
- 10 *indidem*] from the country itself i.e. from Bruttium (not, as Lewis and Short say, 'from Sicily'). Cf. XXIII. 46. 12 *civis indidem erat*; very frequently the name of the country is added with *ex*, XXV. 16. 7 *indidem ex Achaia oriundi*, Greek ἀχαιῶν.
- 13 § 3. *Cauloneam*] the name seems to have been variously spelt, *Caulonia*, *Caulon*, and, in Appian, Ἀυλωνία. It was on the E. coast of Bruttium, at the mouth of the Sagrus.
- 16 § 7. *ita*] 'he had settled it in his own mind'. Livy uses both *ut* with subj., c. 9, § 9, and the infin. after *inducere in animum*. *ita* anticipates the infin.
- 20 § 3. *solicitabat*] Canusium had been loyal to the Romans and in particular afforded hospitality to the Roman army after Cannae. Now that Salapia and Herdonea were lost to him, it became of more importance to H. to secure Canusium. *ad* 'before'.
- 21 *ceterum*] c. 2, § 2.
- 24 § 3. *vestigis*] here dative after *instabat*, comp. c. 2, § 10.
- 25 *conferebat*] 'pitched camp for camp with him', expressing close following of an enemy, cf. c. 27, § 1, where the meaning is that Marcellus

was so anxious to fight with Hannibal that he never felt that he could keep too close to him.

*opere perfecto*] i.e., the moment the camp was finished he took the field prepared to fight a pitched battle, which H. always refused, until at last he was forced by Marcellus to accept battle.

26 *turmatim*] refers only to *equites*, the *peditem iaculatores* being thrown in, as it were, as an appendage of the *equites*. "With simple squadrons of cavalry supported by" &c. The termination *tim* gives distributive force to the adv. ; so, *viritim*, *catervatim* &c.

27 *serens*] prob. from *sero*, *sevi*, the metaphor being taken from raising crops one after another. 'Confining himself to daily skirmishing', cf. II. I, 5 *serere certamina cum patribus*. Lewis and Short derive this use from the sense of weaving, but the objects, though of the same kind, are generally isolated.

*casum*] 'the risk of a general engagement'. *casum* = 'the chances', what might turn out from a pitched battle, cf. *in aleam tanti casus se regnumque dare*.

32 § 10. *signa*] c. 2, § 12.

p. 21. 5 § 11. *contunderent*] c. 2, § 2.

13 § 14. *horis*] abl. of comparison after *amplius*; if *quam* were omitted the accusative would be required.

14 *extraordinariis*] c. 1, § 8.

16 § 15. *alii*] the *alarii*, *alii* the legion. Livy sometimes uses *alius... alius* apparently = *alter*, *alter*, as does Sallust, e.g. *Cat.* c. 54 *sed alia alii*, speaking of Caesar and Cato. It is in imitation of Greek, cf. c. II, § 12.

19 § 16. *ad*] used adverbially with the numerals, as frequently in Livy and Caesar.

22 § 17. *prima quae*] the position emphasizes *prima*, so *ambo qui* c. II, § 7.

### CHAPTER XIII.

28 § 2. *ut*] 'so far as one can be thankful under such circumstances'.

30 *cum*] there is no appreciable difference between *cum* with the abl. of the attendant circumstance, and the simple modal abl. so used, *cum meo periculo* or *meo periculo*. The rule in classical Latin is that the modal abl. alone is only used with an attribute. This rule is disregarded by Livy; see c. 5, § 10.

*in vallum*] *incido* in Livy as a rule is followed by the dative in this sense.

p. 22. 2 § 8. *qui...pugnaretis*] dependent *qn.* on *oblivio*.

4 *priorem aetatem*] 'Marcellus had the same troops this year as the year before. Then his legions were called the 1st and 3rd (c. 2, § 6), here the 18th and 20th, the reason being that the legions commanded by the consuls were always numbered 1 to 4, so that the numbers changed from year to year'. *Weissenb.*

8 § 8. *et ipsius*] i.e. of which as well as of to-day's defeat &c.; for the combination *et ipse* cf. I. 7. 4 *et ipsum* = as well as his oxen, cf. c. 27, § 7. Marcellus means, "I will not remind you of anything that might gratify your pride, in order to prove to you that this day's defeat is your own fault. I will point to what was also discreditable to you. If you could fight yesterday without defeat, there is surely no reason why you might not have done that much at least to-day."

9 *nempe*] 'well! you fought a drawn battle yesterday, that's clear'. *nempe* introduces an indisputable fact by way of explaining a previous statement, 'to explain what I mean, you fought as you know. &c.' see IV. 4. 11 note. So above, l. 3 'why, as you know'.

*aequis manibus*] = the commoner *aequo Marte*.

*diremistis*] 'you parted the battle, i.e. left it undecided': a battle consists of two fighting portions; to sunder them is to bring the battle to a close without one side having beaten the other.

13 § 7. *an*] (am I not right?) or &c., elliptical use of *an*, common in speeches, an impassioned way of proving oneself right. 'Do you mean to tell me that if &c.', cf. II. 38. 3 *hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis? an non sensitis triumphatum hodie de vobis esse?* 'You cannot surely have failed to perceive &c.'

14 *alicui*] we should have expected *ulli*, for the sentence is a negation by interrogation; if turned negatively the pronoun would be *nulli*.

15 *cohorti*] the division of the legion into cohorts had begun at this time, but it is questionable whether the cohorts had standards. Livy here probably means legionaries by *manipulo* and allies by *cohorti*.

18 § 8. *deinde*] 'from that moment', more vivid than *postea*.

21 § 9. *cohortibus*] used generally here of collections of maniples and bodies of allies.

22 *hordeum*] the regular grain served out was *far*, spelt wheat, a coarse kind of wheat. This mode of punishment appears also in later times.

24 *discinctos*] he deprived them of their belts and made them carry their swords in their hands.

- 26 § 10. *virum*] 'that not a soul in the army except the general had that day shown himself (behaved like) a man, and they were all bound to make atonement to him by death or a glorious victory'.
- 29 *ornati*] 'carefully accoutred', showing their spirit by presenting a thoroughly soldierly appearance. The general meaning of *orno* is to furnish fully. *provincia ornata* is 'well appointed, perfect in all its arrangements'.
- 32 § 12. *omnibus*] may go with *edicere* or with *pugnandum*, in the latter case the arrangement is chiasmic, '*omnibus pugn. &c. adnit. sing. univ.*

## CHAPTER XIV.

- p. 23. 6 § 1. *nimirum*] 'clearly', accompanies a self-evident proposition, cf. Cic. *N. D.* III. 36, 86 *virtute.n nemo deo acceptam retulit; nimirum recte.*
- 8 *possit*] cf. c. II, § 13.
- 19 § 5. *ab H.*] 'on H.'s side', as *ab Romanis* above.
- 20 *frontem*] = *aciem, id roboris = ii robur erant.* The attraction of the pronoun to the gender of the complement is regular, but Livy substitutes the partitive genitive (like *id tantum hostium, id temporis* &c.) for the nominative, 'that amount of flower there was'. *omni* not 'whole', but 'every', 'in every army that H. employed', tr. 'they always formed the flower of his army'.
- 22 § 6. *si quem*] 'in the hope that that movement might' &c., imitation of Greek *et πως* &c.
- 23 § 7. *signa ordinesque*] c. I, § 10.
- 26 § 8. *primi hastati*] 'belonging to the first maniple of the *hastati*', XXV. 5. 15 *secundi hastati signum; manipulum eius signi*, the maniple belonging to that standard = the maniple to which that standard belonged.
- 29 § 9. *haud diff...ictus*] generally true of shooting at elephants, *et tum*, a particular circumstance which made the attack more deadly on this occasion, 'every shot struck, for it is easy shooting at short distance with such huge objects to aim at, and here they were massed together as well'.
- 31 *ut...ita*] = *μὲν...δὲ*, 'though (while) they were not all wounded, yet &c.' III. 55. 15 *haec omnia ut invitis, ita non adversantibus patriciis transacta*, sometimes *sicut...ita*.
- 32 *ut*] 'in accordance with the well known uncertainty of the animals';

a general fact with which a special event is in keeping, cf. XXI. 35. 11 *iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora sunt, difficilius fuit.*

p. 24. 1 § 10. *iam non*] 'no longer'.

5 *quanto*] because when these animals are once alarmed their terror quite overpowers their habit of obedience to their riders; the singular as well as the present tense shows that he is stating a general fact.

12 § 18. *facere*] 'calculated to cause', consecutive subj., 'other things of such a nature as to cause'.

#### CHAPTER XV.

21 § 1. *Bruttios*] There was no name in classical Latin for the country. *Bruttium* is modern Latin.

22 § 2. *et*] in reference to the success of Marcellus; this was another success of the Romans.

*Hirpini*] their revolt from Rome is given XXIII. 1. Cf. XXII. 61. 11 where a list is given of all who revolted after Cannae.

23 *Volcientes*] presents a difficulty. It cannot mean the people of *Vulci* in Etruria. Those are prob. the same as the *Vulcentani* mentioned by Pliny. But these were a Lucanian people, and it is difficult to understand why they should be mentioned separately from the Lucanians.

32 § 4. *Manduriam*] a town 24 miles E. of Tarentum.

p. 25. 2 *faucibus*] i.e. on the mainland, opposite to the tongue of land on which Tarentum lay, so commanding the narrow channel (now bridged over) which formed the entrance to the harbour.

§ 5. *naves*] cf. XXV. 11. 12.

3 *Livius*] *Macatus*, XXIV. 20, XXV. 10. 3, XXVI. 39.

*tutandis*] dat. of purpose. Cicero uses this dat. of the gerund or gerundive after *sum*, in a few phrases, esp. *non solvendo esse*, after nouns such as *dies*, *comitia* and nouns expressing an office, e.g., *curator* &c., but not otherwise. The use of it after *adesse*, *studere*, *accommodatus* &c., stands on a different footing. The use of it as merely equivalent to a final sentence, or to *causa* with gen., begins with Livy, cf. III. 5. 14 *his avertendis terroribus seriae indictae*.

6 *non...agerentur*] i.e. war-ships in which oars were regularly used, whereas in merchant vessels they were only used in emergency.

10 § 7. *et*] strong use, almost = *etenim*.

11 *Philippus*] c. 30, § 16; *cum pararet* qualify *Corc. tram*.



- 12 § 9. *sub*] cf. c. 37, § 1.
- 14 *ad cetera*] 'useless (*lit.* resourceless) for all other purposes'.  
*inops* of things, a rare use, and gen. poetical. Cicero uses it of the Latin language, and also with *ad* after it, as here, qualifying *disciplina*, *Brutus* 76. 263.
- 15 § 9. *momentum*] *lit.* 'a thing, trifling to speak of, turning the scale', i.e. a circumstance trivial in itself, but most important in its consequences. 'A trivial circumstance proved momentous and helped &c.'
- 19 *frater*] prob. a Tarentine, which would facilitate the carrying out of the plot.
- 21 § 10. *consuetudine*] 'intimacy'.
- 23 *quolibet*] 'to any length'.
- 26 § 11. *conciliatus*] 'introduced'.
- 27 *explorata*] having assured himself that the man had no principle;  
*bland. m.* qualify *perpulis*.
- 29 § 12. *per interv.*] i.e. at a point between two sentries; probably he would be let down from the wall.
- 31 *quaeque*] 'and what had been arranged', *lit.* 'and for the doing of what agreement had been made'.
- P. 26. 1 § 13. *custodiam p.*] from the camp, § 4.  
*ab regione...versa*] qualify *consedit*. Fabius marched round the harbour, the land-locked basin now called the Little Sea, to the base of the tongue of land on which the city was built, at the apex of which was the citadel.
- 3 § 14. *a portu* &c.] from the camp opp. the citadel, and from ships outside the harbour in the gulf of Tarentum. *simul...simul* distinguish the forces inside and outside the city: the object was not to make a real attack so much as to divert attention from the E. side of the city.
- 6 § 15. *Democrates*] commander of the Carthaginian ships at Tarentum, xxvi. 39. 6, appears here as in command of the force (prob. Tarentine) guarding the E. side of the city. *praepositus* is used absolutely = *praep. praesidio*.
- 10 § 16. *inter* &c.] = *dum* (in half temporal, half causal sense) and a verb.
- 16 § 17. *praes. agit.*] 'were on guard'.
- 17 *conciliator*] 'concocter', not found in Cicero and intended to be contemptuous. *ea sc. parte*.
- 19 § 18. *et*] qualifies all the sentence, not *proxima* only.

- 21 § 19. *nullo ob. arm.*] a favourite combination in Livy, cf. *omissa irrita re, bello infecto omisso*: the adj. and partic. form one whole predicate.

## CHAPTER XVI.

- 28 § 2. *consererent*] the subj. conveys the feeling of the Tarentines. They would hardly wait to come to close quarters before they turned and fled.
- 32 § 3. *Philemenus*] XXV. 8, subject to subordinate sentence only, c. 3, § 1.
- p. 27. 5 § 5. *cum commem.*] c. 13, § 2, the phrase here is simply equivalent to a participle.
- 7 § 6. *alii alios*] has not its usual sense, but simply means, "other soldiers (besides the one just mentioned) killed other people".  
*sine discrimine*] and *pariter* mean much the same, the former qualifies *arm. inerm. que*, the latter *Carth. Tarent. que*.
- 16 § 3. *abstinuit*] Plutarch gives quite a different account of the behaviour of Fabius in this respect.
- 17 *signis*] peculiar use of the abl. (apparently instrumental) in combination with *facere, fieri* and *esse*, quite classical; with *esse* it is most frequent in the comic poets, in other writers apparently confined to the compound future, *quid te futurum est* (Cic.), *quidnam se futurum esset* (Liv.). Perhaps the use is colloquial. Sometimes *de* with the abl. is used.
- 18 *ingentis*] Plutarch says that Fabius brought a colossal statue of Hercules to Rome which stood on the Capitol, and Pliny that he left a similar statue of Jupiter behind only because he had no means to convey it away.  
*sunt*] they were still existing app. in Livy's time.
- 20 *iussit*] the construction of the abl. absol. is somewhat irregular, cf. Livy III. 56. 9 *suas leges quibus manentibus lator earum in vincula ducatur*. Cic. in *Pis.* § 23 *quae ornamenta etiam in Sex. Claudio te consule voluisti*.
- 24 § 10. *cursim*] 'his army being marched at the double'.
- 28 *ceperamus*] the tense expresses the fact of the loss, 'we had taken it (before we lost it)'.
- p. 28. 1 § 12. *litteris*] 'a letter from the chief men of that state'.
- 2 *accepturos*] sc. *Metapontinos*. The form of the statement, 'they would

take the consul's word that their former conduct should be condoned if they betrayed &c.', seems to imply previous negotiations, which Livy has not mentioned; it is a curious way of putting, 'they would betray the city if they had the consul's word &c.'

6 § 14. *enimvero*] 'of course', 'as will easily be understood', cf. II. 22. 6 *enimvero tum Latini gaudere facto*.

7 *si*] 'to think that'.

10 § 15. *addixerunt*] I. 36. 3 *nisi aves addixissent*, the regular term in this connection.

## CHAPTER XVII.

16 § 1. *Scipio*] c. 3, § 1.

22 § 2. *fortuita...traxit*] Polyb. represents it as more a matter of calculation, x. 34. He saw a change of feeling setting in in Spain and wished to head it.

24 § 3. *eadem* &c.] cf. XXVI. 49. 11, and § 16 below.

p. 29. I § 4. *aliquid*] gov. by *moveret*, cf. c. 24, § 9, 'unless he could make an impression by bold action'.

2 *fluere*] sc. *res suae*, 'his power would go on melting away, as it had begun to do'.

3 § 5. *a spe*] cf. c. 28, § 6.

6 § 6. *etiamsi*] 'in case he might have to &c.', the construction is condensed, 'he had increased his forces in order that even if he had &c., he might be able to do so'.

10 *navales* s.] The general term for the crews (sailors) of the ships as opp. to *classarii* or *epibatae*, soldiers serving on board of them.

12 § 7. *incluso*] cf. XXVI. 51. 8, XXIX. 35. 8. Weissenb. thinks *officinis* may have fallen out here after *numero*.

15 § 8. *maioris rei*] part. gen. after *nihil*; *motum*, the regular idiomatic construction of the partic. with *volo*.

§ 9. *per omnia*] cf. c. 39, § 7.

17 *transiret*] *ut* with the subj. of repeated action in past time begins with Livy, in the combination *ut quisque*; he uses the same subj. with *ubi* and relatives.

20 § 10. *ut*] 'like', usually it would mean 'considering he was a barbarian'. But the insertion of the word here is conjectural and may be wrong.

23 *raptam*] sc. *esse*, accus. and infin. after *glorianti*.

- 25 § 11. *si tamen*] 'provided at least that the motive for desertion and not the mere name of deserter caused the hatred on both sides', the side deserted from and the side deserted to. He approved of the practice (only) however if &c., *ita...si* would be the more ordinary construction.
- 29 § 13. *dumtaxat*] concessive, 'certainly', cf. II. 61. 4 *modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum*, 'though he had certainly gone too far &c.' "*dumtaxat* restricts a notion in two ways, (1) by excepting one thing (meaning 'only'), (2) by asserting the existence at least of something (meaning 'certainly', 'at least')" *Hand-Tursell*.
- 30 *ius ac fas*] 'law and religion', 'human and divine law'. *crederent*, he is speaking for both.
- 31 *quoque*] as well as to the Romans.
- p. 30. 2 § 14. *quales...perinde*] an unusual correlation.  
*operae pret. fac.*] 'estimate their services'; in I. praef. *operae pret. fac.* = 'to do something worth the trouble of doing it'; *operae* is there gen., here prob. dat.
- 9 § 17. *foedere*] modal abl., c. 5, § 10, 13, § 2.
- 10 *tendebant*] 'they were quartered', *lit.* 'stretched their tents', common military use of the word.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

- 12 § 1. *Hasdrubalis*] in apposition 'that is, Hasdrubal's'.
- 13 *Baerculam*] a town in the neighbourhood of Castulo between the Baetis and the Anas, Guadalquivir and Guadiana.
- 14 § 2. *antesignani*] it is difficult to understand what Livy means by this word here. Generally speaking it means the front maniples of the legion fighting in front of their standards, which in battle were placed in the hindmost maniples of the division. Ordinarily the *hastati* would be the *antesignani*. If they were obliged to retire, then the *principes* would become *antesignani*. This signification does not seem to apply here. I am inclined to think that the word here is in some way synonymous or nearly so with *velites* (though elsewhere they are distinguished). But so little is known about the *velites*, the skirmishers of the army, who appear for the first time in this war, that it is impossible to say how they might be included in the term *antesignani*. The head of a column in marching order as a rule was formed of the *extraordinarii* followed by the *dextra ala sociorum*.
- 24 § 5. *velut*] 'something like a steep bank', i.e., the sides of the *tumulus* were precipitous like a steep high river-bank.

*oram eius*] the edge of the plain.

25 § 9. *summ. fast.*] with an incline or gentle slope, *lit.*, lowering itself in the way of an inclined plane, *fastigium* here = the sloping side of roof or gable.

26 *crepido*] = *velut ripa* above; *crepido* is a rising bank or elevation, cf. Virg. *Aen.* x. 653 *ratis celsi coniuncta crepidine saxi*, where "*crep. saxi* = a *crepido*-like rock, a rock rising in the form of a pedestal" *Papillon*.

31 § 9. *praedamnata*] a Livian word, only used here in this secondary sense, elsewhere literally; 'pleading guilty to the hopelessness of fighting on level ground by securing &c.'

32 *loci fiducia*] = *loco freti* another of Livy's modal ablatives. *stare* 'pointed to the enemy saying that &c.'

p. 31. 2 § 9. *ne...quidem*] *nec...quidem* is not Latin, *ne...quidem* can be used as here *per asyndeton* after *nec...nec*.

3' *ad id*] the only use of their elevated position would be to oblige them &c.

6 § 10. *cohortesque*] 'accordingly (*que*) he ordered', cf. II. 12. 13, the explanatory use of *que* (found in Caesar and Sallust, not in Cicero) or, put in other words, the use of it to add the specific to the general.

8 *per obliqua*] which led obliquely over the hill: so *per adversa montium*, IX. 3. 1, 'straight over mountains', = *obliquum tumulum*, *adversos montes*, due to Livy's fondness for the partitive genitive, comp. c.

14, § 5.

*expeditos*] = *velites* § 2.

10 *supercilio*] = *inferior planities* § 6.

§ 11. *nihil aliud quam*] = one word, 'only', cf. II. 8. 8, where *quam* is separated from *nihil aliud*. Cicero and Caesar do not admit this usage.

18 § 14. *ubi...consistent*] descriptive of *aeq. loc.*, consecutive subj.

19 *concursores*] not used before Livy; 'these light-armed skirmishers who find safety in distance and the shifty manoeuvres of artillery fighting'. *eluditur*, the subject is proleptic, the meaning is not 'fighting is evaded' but 'evasive fighting is carried on': so *pons iungitur* 'a bridge is made by joining', cf. c. 20, § 8. *eludo* is a gladiatorial term, to avoid a blow by movement of the body. On Livy's participial or adjectival use of substantives see Livy IV. (Pitt Press), App. The present tense shows that Livy is speaking of the general characteristics of this kind of troops. Weissenb. understands the meaning of *eluditur* to be sham fighting as opposed to the real earnest fighting at close quarters.

- 21 *eundem*] the frequent use of *idem* to emphasize or contrast two characteristics of the same subject.
- 22 *altiori*] cf. § 5.
- 24 § 15. *mediam aciem*] the main body of H.'s troops posted on the higher eminence.
- 28 § 16. *undique*] on both sides and in front, from the troops of Scipio and Laelius and the *expediti* § 10.
- 29 *flectere...obvertere*] different aspects of the same movement. The wings were wheeled round in order that the companies forming them might face the enemy.
- § 17. *hoc tumultu*] abl. of circumstance. *et Laelius*, Laelius apparently took longer than Scipio, who engaged the enemy first. As the former came close, the Carthaginians fearing attack on their rear fell back and so allowed the *expediti* to make their way up in front, which they could not have done if the Carthaginians had maintained their original position.
- p. 32. 6 § 20. *vias*] cf. § 10.
- 7 *fuga*] how the flight of the general had caused the shutting of the gate Livy does not say. Hasdrubal and his principal officers had probably escaped to the camp closing the gate behind them for safety, and then got away by the back gate of the camp.
- fuga*] abl. of cause.

## CHAPTER XIX.

- 10 § 1. *dimicare*] the subjunct. implies H.'s determination not to fight until he had secured his retreat to the Pyrenees. *rapta*, 'hastily secured'.
- 11 *plurimos*] sc. *milites*.
- 26 § 6. *cuius* &c.] = *id nomen cuius miraculo alii* &c. 'looking down with such lofty indifference on a title, the dazzling splendour of which overpowers the majority of minds'.
- p. 33. 3 § 9. *id aetatis*] 'at his age' = so young. The phrase (used by Cicero) is an instance of the use of the accus., comparatively common in ante-classical Latin, in statement of time without reference to duration. Cicero uses it as attribute and predicate, e.g. *cum id aetatis filio* and *quoniam est id aetatis ut* &c.
- 12 § 11. *praeceptis*] the use of adjectives as substantives is in Cicero and Caesar confined to those of the 2nd decl.
- 13 *tribunali*] a raised place (*suggestus, locus superior*) in the camp, from which the general addressed the soldiers, administered justice &c.,

corresponding to the raised platform so named in the *Comitium* (and later in the *basilicae*) on which the praetor sat to administer justice. *pro* = not 'before', but 'on the front part', so practically 'on', but suggesting the presence of the people dealt with in front of the place. Caesar *B. G.* vi. 3 *hac re pro suggestu pronuntiata*.

- 16 § 12. *vero*] simply emphasizing here, 'he did indeed wish it'; this use is commonest with personal and demonstrative pronouns and with *tum*, otherwise *vero* generally has an adversative force.  
*anulum...tunicam*] both part of the dress of a senator.

## CHAPTER XX.

- 22 § 2. *ne*] depends on the notion of 'fearing' implied in *anceps ratus*.  
24 *Pyrenaeum*] that is, the Eastern Pyrenees, by which he naturally expected Hasdrubal would leave Spain, if that was his intention. But H. took the route by the Western Pyrenees, and so avoided him, Appian *Hispan.* 28.  
28 § 3. *Castulonensi*] a pass over the Mts in the neighbourhood of Castulo, to the west of which Baecula lay.  
31 *exsequendi*] Madvig's emendation for *exsequenda*, see note on text; the construction is *consilio belli in cetera exsequendi, belli exs.* being obj. gen. after *consilio*, and *in cetera* qualifying *exseq. auxilium*, cf. c. 18, § 14, l. 19 'too late to help'.  
32 § 4. *quid...regione*] see note on text.  
p. 34. 1 *animorum*] 'what was the state of feeling among the Spaniards', *lit.* 'what of feeling (partitive gen.) was to the Spaniards'.  
5 § 5. *constabat*] there was an agreement of opinion, H. and M. agreed in the opinion that &c.  
10 § 6. *fuisse*] dept. on *constabat*, represents a vivid indicative *fuit = fuisset*, in *oratio recta*.  
11 *simul ut*] additional motive besides the one contained in *ubi...esset*: Hasdrubal must have gone into Italy, the centre and head-quarters of the war, for the further purpose of withdrawing &c.  
14 § 7. *repleri...traicere*] depend on the sense of *placuit* in *constabat inter H. et M.*  
19 § 8. *quod...esset*] in apposition to *tria milia eq.* Masinissa should be reinforced with 3000 troopers, the pick of all the cavalry. *expleri*, cf. c. 19, § 14.  
*roboris*] c. 14, § 5.  
27 § 10. *rumore*] abl. of attendant circumstance.

*superquam*] = *praeterquam*, not used before Livy.

- p. 35. 6 § 12. *cum tamen*] 'when in spite of his efforts the friends of the Claudian succeeded in procuring leave for Marcellus &c.' cf. Verg. *Aen.* IX. 512—514 *Saxa quoque infesto volvebant pondere si qua Possent tectam aciem perrumpere cum tamen omnes Ferre iuvat subter densa testudine casus.* *Claudi* and *Marcellus* are the same person. The use of the *nomen* in the first clause suggests the strong family interest at work.

#### CHAPTER XXI.

- 12 § 1. *circo Flaminio*] built by C. Flaminius, who was killed at the battle of the Trasimene lake, just under the *Arx*, in the S. portion of the *Campus Martius* between the *Via lata* and the river, known as *Campus Flaminius* or *Prata Flaminia*. This was a *iudicium publicum* or *populi* probably before the *Comitia Tributa*.

- 16 § 2. *provinciam*] cf. XXI. 5. 1 (Hannibal) *velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset...Saguntinis bellum inferre statuit.*

- 18 § 3. *Marcello*] dat. after *prorogati*. These compounds are formed from *rogo*, in the meaning of putting the question to the people in *comitia*, and properly signify to do by act of the *comitia* what is implied by the preposition, e.g. *abrogo* = 'to take away by act of *comitia*', *prorogo* 'to prolong by the same' &c. But they are used in a general sense as well. Prorogation of command at this time was entirely in the hands of the Senate.

*bis*] the tribune treats the battle described in c. 14 as a defeat, as practically it was if it ever took place, for M. was unable to take the field again after it.

- 21 § 4. *antiquaretur*] rejected, a word formed to express the effect of the vote given in the words *antiqua volo* (A.V.) the opposite of *uti rogas* (V.R.)

- 24 § 6. *praetor*] an exception to the rule that state offices could not be held continuously, which seems to have been in force at this time, cf. c. 6, § 12.

- p. 36. 1 § 7. *eo*] cf. c. 1, § 5.

- 5 § 9. *plebes*] The origin of these games is quite uncertain. They were connected with the *epulum Iovis* (Liv. xxv. 2), were held in the Circus Flaminius and are first mentioned in the year 216. (Livy xxiii. 30.) They lasted more than one day in the year 207. (Livy xxviii.



10.) Plays were acted at them as early as B.C. 200. Mommsen assumes that they were instituted by G. Flaminius, who built the circus, 'the first Roman demagogue by profession' *R. H.* ii. 345. *singulos*, i.e. each games for one day.

6 *instaurati*] cf. c. 6, § 19.

*Caudinus*] cf. IX. 4 and 15. L. Cornelius Lentulus was legate in the Caudine campaign and recommended the consuls to accept the terms offered by the Samnites. He was dictator the next year and, as his descendants claimed, was the general who avenged the Caudine disaster. L. Cornelius Lentulus, consul in B.C. 237, was the first who assumed the *agnomen*.

8 § 10. *negabant*] the ground of the assertion is uncertain because we do not know whether the father was patrician or plebeian. But if he was patrician, and the son became plebeian in order to be elected tribune and plebeian aedile (a patrician was ineligible) without his father's consent, the proceeding would be illegal. This is perhaps the explanation. See Mommsen *Str.* I. 458 n. 3. Cf. xxx. 19. 9. After Servilius had released his father, *latum ad populum est ne C. Servilio fraudi esset quod patre, qui sella curuli sedisset, vivo, cum id ignoraret, tribunus plebis atque aedilis plebis fuisset, contra quam sanctum legibus erat.*

o *agrarium*] = *agro dando* or *dividundo*; cf. III. 1. 6. When a colony was planted two or more commissioners (generally three) were appointed by the *comitia* to make all arrangements for carrying out the provisions of the law under which the colony was formed.

## CHAPTER XXII.

4 § 1. *ut*] as in *ut ita dicam*, conditional use of *ut* consecutive, most commonly used with *ita* preceding, lit. 'under the condition of the consulship &c. being reckoned', i.e. 'counting the consulship &c.' For the fact see XXIII. 31. 13.

16 § 2. *utrisque*] so IX. 12. 2 *utraque consilia* and elsewhere, of two individual persons or things. It occurs in earlier writers, but very rarely except in the combination *hi, qui utriusque = horum, quorum uterque*; in Cornelius Nepos and Livy it is commoner.

21 § 3. *divisae*] condensed expression. The Senate named the different spheres of duty and the *praetors* drew lots for them.

13 *et quo &c.*] cf. c. 7, § 8.

15 *Fulvio... Capuam*] cf. c. 7, § 10.

- p. 37. 1 § 4. *ad duas legiones*] lit. 'that he might go in the place of Calpurnius into Etruria to the two legions', i.e. 'succeed Calpurnius in the command of the two legions in Etruria', cf. XXXVII. 14. 1.
- 6 § 6. *latumque*] cf. c. 21, § 3. The sanction of the *comitia* was required in this case because one of the four fixed spheres of duty (provinces), which according to rule ought to be assigned by lot to one of the praetors, was assigned to a *propraetor*.
- 10 *misisset*] subblique narration, the fact of the despatch of the ships formed part of the instructions to Aurunculeius.
- § 7. *suae*] not simply their present provinces (which would be *eaedem*), but provinces which they had made in a special sense their own by their success.
- 16 § 8. *inpleturos*] 'infest'.
- 20 § 9. *obtinere*] indirect imperative; in direct speech it would be, 'you are to take command'.  
*eo*] = *ad eam*. Cf. c. 1, § 13.
- 23 § 10. *eadem*] the same as he had before, c. 7, § 15.
- 26 § 11. *quo*] Weissenb. takes as adv. = *ad quas legiones*, for the legions which required it; but why should it not be the abl. agreeing with *supplementum*?
- 30 § 12. *sociis*] cf. c. 17, § 6.
- p. 38. 3 § 13. *idem*] refers not to *nisi...venisset*, but to what is implied in *vetitus* &c., and expresses little more than *et*, 'orders to the same effect were given to T. also, viz., to &c.'  
*inde*] = *ab ea parte*, 'in that quarter'.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

- 7 § 2. *et*] corresponds to *et* before *Ostiae*; the prodigies are arranged in two groups; if *Casini* is right *ex Campania* must be taken widely.
- 10 *prava*] It is the excess of religious feeling that Livy objects to, not the belief in prodigies.
- 16 § 4. *supplicatio*] cf. c. 11, § 6.
- 18 *in capita*] 'the deadly outcome of the prodigies was concentrated (expended itself) on the lives of the consuls', i.e. 'the fatalities portended by the prodigies were confined to the deaths of the two consuls without injury to the state'. *vertit*, intrans.
- 20 § 5. *Apollinares*] cf. c. 11, § 6. *primum*, B.C. 212.
- 25 § 6. *perniciabiles*] a word of Livy's coining. *evasit in*, 'determined in'.

26 § 7. *compita*] signifies not only the cross-ways but the chapels built on them, sacred to the *Lares Compitales*, in whose honour the *Compitalia* or *Ludi Compitalicii* were celebrated.

29 *primus*] refers to *ita*. He was the first who vowed and performed the games under the new regulations.

*nonas*] probably a slip on Livy's part for *idus*; the day fixed was apparently July 13th.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

p. 39. I § 1. *gravior*] sc. *esse*.

5 *cum imperio*] the magistrates had the right to appoint a deputy with the same powers as themselves to represent them when necessary, as in the case of necessary absence from their sphere of duty. The *praetor urbanus* could not leave Rome, and therefore exercised his right to appoint Varro to represent him in Etruria. It was his business as chief magistrate in Rome to receive these hostages.

11 § 3. *dare*] may depend on the sense of *iussit* in *edixit*, but more probably it is vivid for *daturus*, 'you either give them at once or I will take them to-morrow'.

15 § 4. *locarentur*] gives the thought of the senators in planning their escape, seizing their opportunity before the guards were posted.

20 § 5. *is*] 'he (by his report) increased the misgivings of the Roman Senate'.

21 § 6. *tumultu*] used here in its common quasi-technical sense of a war near home, not as *tumultuari*, XXI. 16. 4, of irregular warfare.

22 *alteram*] 'viz., one of the urban legions', cf. c. 3, § 9.

23 *in praesidio*] 'to use it to hold the city', *lit.* 'to have it in the position of a garrison of the city', possibly imitation of the use of *év.*

26 § 7. *res*] obj. of *novare*, an affected position of the word, probably for rhythmical purposes.

31 § 9. *in eo...si*] like *ita...si*, 'to rely *entirely* for security against movements in Etruria on the precautions he took to make movement impossible'.

## CHAPTER XXV.

p. 40. 2 § 1. *defendente*] also conative, 'who did his best to defend &c., while others' &c.

- 3 *aequantibus*] conative pres., 'trying to level them with the fault and punishment of the Capuans', i.e., wishing to convict them of the same offence and visit them with the same punishment as the Capuans. For the condensed comparison, cf. c. 1, § 3.
- 7 § 2. *integra*] cf. c. 9, § 10.
- 10 *notantibus...decermentibus*] cf. § 1, *notantibus*, in the censorial sense.
- 14 § 4. *foret*] = *esset*; see Livy IV. (Pitt Press), Appendix. *mediis*] the men of moderate views, not extreme either way, but between the two.
- § 5. *notionem*] 'the enquiry into his case', *eo*, of course masc.
- 17 *enim*] here must have its regular causal meaning 'for', and *neque = ne quidem* (It is not the combination *neque enim* 'and indeed...not'): 'If the city had not been lost neither would recapture have been necessary', cf. III. 52. 9 *cum praesertim nec nos temperemus*. Livy is the first prose writer in whom this use is found. For the saying cf. Cic. *de Senect.* c. 4.
- 23 § 7. *religiones*] religious questions or difficulties.
- 23 *quod*] 'was the fact that, he having vowed a temple to Virtus and Honos, the dedication of it was obstructed by the *pontifices*'. *quod*, in II. 25, 27, is 'because'. The sentence is not a graceful one. Perhaps it is an imitation of pontifical style.
- 24 *pontificibus*] before a temple could be dedicated, it had to be approved by the *pontifices*.
- 27 § 8. *foret*] in its full signification = *futura esset*, the subj. being required as in *posset* because of the suboblique speech.
- 28 *fieret*] 'sacrifice was to be offered', religious use of *facio* as also in § 9.
- p. 41. 1 § 9. *certis*] according to Varro the Roman deities were divided into *dii certi*, *incerti* and *selecti*. The first, belonging to the oldest form of the Roman religion, were personifications of all the various processes and occupations of human life from birth to death (not abstract qualities; they belong to a later time generally), e.g., *Potina* and *Educa*, which taught the weaned child to eat and drink. Whether Varro invented the terms *certi* &c. or found them is quit: uncertain. From this passage it would seem as if they belonged to pontifical lore. But it is quite possible that Livy got the phrase out of Varro; Marquardt, III. 10. It is quite possible also, as Weissenb. suggests, that Livy does not use *certis* in this technical sense, but means special deities mentioned in the pontifical books as deities that could be worshipped in pairs.
- 2 *tamen*] in spite of the hurrying on of the work.
- 6 § 11. *Locros*] captured by the Carthaginians in B.C. 215, XXIV. 1.

- 9 *indidem*] cf. c. 12, § 5.  
 12 § 12. *Lacinium*] a headland about 6 miles S. of Crotona, celebrated for a temple of Juno.  
 17 *averso*] having raised the siege of Locri.  
 20 *debellari*] imper. pass.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

- 22 § 1. *vicerat victusque erat*] translates readily into English, but the more usual Latin form would insert distributive words with the two verbs, cf. c. 28, § 3.  
*ut...ita*] cf. c. 14, § 9.  
 23 *nec spem* &c.] 'had sufficient ground to expect either success or reverse', lit. 'had neither hope nor apprehension based on what was not substantial', cf. c. 4, § 1.  
 27 § 3. *tamen*] although H. refused a general engagement.  
 30 *Cincio*] cf. c. 8. His successor Sex. Julius Caesar (c. 22, § 3) appears, in spite of the statement c. 23, § 1, not yet to have relieved him, cf. also c. 29, § 4.  
 p. 42. 2 § 5. *mittit ad*] again very English. More ordinary Latin would require an object after the verb. *ab Tarento*, cf. c. 2, § 6.  
 3 *Peteliae*] a hill adjoining the town of Petelia, a few miles N.W. of Crotona.  
 4 § 6. *inexplorato*] cf. c. 2, § 12.  
 7 *saltusque*] of the Apennines.  
 14 § 3. *saltu*] Polyb. says 'he filled the wood and the hollows with light-armed troops'.  
 20 § 10. *quin*] 'why not go ourselves?' shows how *quin?* with indic. acquired its imperative force.  
 26 § 13. *immolasse*] used absolutely; so used by Cicero, as also with abl. of the offering.  
 29 § 14. *auctum*] prob. subst., 'enlargement'.  
*capite*] Pliny, XI. 189 *iecur in dextera parte, in eo quod caput extorum vocant, magnae varietatis est*; a protuberance on the right lobe of the liver, the absence of which was the worst possible omen.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

- p. 43. 1 § 1. *crederet*] 'he thought they (H. and he) could never be close enough to one another'.  
 2 § 2. *signum*] cf. c. 1, § 8.

- 8 § 3. *si quos*] 'on the chance of their being able &c.'
- 9 *excipere*] cf. Horace, *Odes* III. 12. 12 *excipere aprum*.
- 11 § 4. *quibus*] 'those who were to spring on the enemy from the hill itself did not show themselves until a detachment had made their way round to bar the road in the rear of the enemy', *lit.* 'those to whom it was necessary to rise in a mass confronting (the enemy) from the hill itself, &c.'
- 14 § 5. *valle*] 'the consuls caught in a hollow from which (*lit.* 'such that') they could neither make their way to the summit against the enemy who held it, nor retreat through the force which enclosed their rear, might still have prolonged the fight, but &c.' *valle*, a depression in the side of the hill apparently visible from the camp, one of the hollows mentioned by Polyb., cf. c. 26, § 8.
- 19 § 6. *ex parte*] 'taking their share in the fighting', *lit.* 'by fighting themselves in part'; a nominative as subject to an abl. gerund is common in Livy, especially in the case of pronouns, *solus*, and numerals, cf. IV. 2. 9; *ex parte*=*pro parte*.
- 22 § 7. *et ipsi...et ipso*] a favourite use of Livy, the pronoun being really used to attach *et* (= *etiam*) to, as Cicero uses *ille* to carry *quidem*. Cicero also uses *et*=*etiam*, but not nearly so frequently as Livy.
- 26 § 8. *et*] 'moreover'. *lictores* is distributed by *quinque* and *ceteri*.
- 30 § 10. *tumultuatum*] 'there had been great excitement in the camp (and a movement made) to go to the rescue', *lit.* 'there had been great excitement with a view to &c.': what follows shows that the desire was going to be carried out.
- p. 44. 1 § 11. *cum aliquis*] 'was deplorable in other respects and particularly in this (*tum*) that &c.'
- 2 *pro aetate*] 'it was unworthy of his years and of the skill (generalship) of a veteran leader thus incautiously &c.', *lit.* 'neither in accordance with his age nor &c. had he &c.' *prudentia*, in its common sense of professional knowledge and ability.
- 4 *in praeceptis*] cf. c. 19, § 11.
- 6 § 12. *fecerim*] 'if I chose to give in detail &c., the result would be a short volume on one fact'. The perfect tense draws attention to the *result* which would be apparent if the desire were carried out. So in the indignant interrogative use of the future perfect or perfect subj., *nostris illuserit advena regnis?* 'am I to see a stranger &c.'
- 9 § 13. *laudatione*] the funeral speech.
- 11 § 14. *ita...ut*] cf. c. 22, § 1, 'notwithstanding the many variations of the story, most agree &c.'

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

- 23 § 3. *sagaciter*] 'were sagaciously moved to &c.', i.e., 'set their sagacity (wits) to work to': the adverb expresses a quality of the subject as a modification of the predicate.
- 25 § 4. *signi*] very extended use of the descriptive genitive = the means of error or deception *afforded by* this signet. *anulis* seems to mean only one ring, though the plural of this word is not so used elsewhere. This use of the plural is generally confined to single objects in which the fact that they consist of several parts is prominent.
- p. 45. 5 § 5. *quo*] 'for any purpose or movement', *lit.* 'in any direction'.
- 6 § 6. *ab ira*] 'In consequence of H.'s anger at their revolt', causal use of *ab* (expressing here the motive of an action); frequent in Livy in the subjective use of it as here, not so frequent in the objective, as in I. 1 *ab simili clade domo profugum*. See Livy, IV. App. *defectionis* obj. gen. after *ira*, so Verg. *Aen.* II. 413 *ereptae virginis ira*. Cicero does not use the construction with this word, though he does occasionally use this genitive as = a prepositional phrase; cf. c. 6, § 15: for the facts cf. XXVI. 38.
- 8 § 7. *ut...agerent*] qualify what follows. The object was to relieve the soldiers from the curiosity of the townspeople, as well as from the military duties transferred to them.
- 18 § 10. *cataracta*] that is the door part of the gate was a portcullis, 'it was closed by means of a portcullis let down'.
- 20 *tantum*] = 'only so much', cf. Cic. *p. Leg. Man.* c. 6 *ceterarum provinciarum tanta sunt vectigalia ut iis ad ipsas tutandas provincias vix contenti esse possimus. recti*, 'without stooping'.
- 24 § 12. *ex itinere*] 'without halting' to form in battle order, 'just as they had marched', *lit.* 'straight off the march'.
- 25 *ut*] 'believing themselves to be among a peaceful population'. *ut* represents *pacatos* as an idea in their minds, not an objective fact.
- 28 § 13. *profectusque*] *sc. est.*
- p. 46. 4 § 16. *speculis*] simply elevated places on which signal-fires could be lighted, cf. XXVIII. 5. 17.  
*et ipse*] 'he also'.
- 5 *quia fecerat*] cf. II. I. 7.
- 6 *esse*] a matter of supposition as opposed to the fact.
- 9 § 17. *quatiebant*] 'trying to shake', conative imperf.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

- 15 § 2. *prae*] the causal sense of *prae* is in Livy confined to negative and quasi-negative sentences, in Cicero and Caesar only used with the predicate *non possum*.
- 19 § 3. *Tarento*] the garrison of which had been seriously diminished (c. 26).
- 26 § 4. *Iulius Caesar*] this can hardly be the praetor, for in that case Sicily would have been left without a praetor in charge of it, cf. c. 26, § 3.
- 29 § 5. *dictatorem*] cf. c. 5, § 15. The movements of Cincius seem rather erratic. There is some uncertainty however about the *praenomen* in c. 28, § 13. *Claudium*, cf. c. 22, § 3.
- p. 47. 1 § 7. *Valerius*] cf. c. 7, § 16.
- 2 *Clupea*] Latin rendering of the name *Ἀσωίς*, given to the place from the shield-shaped hill on which it lay, which stood south of the *promont. Mercurii*.
- 3 *nullo &c.*] for the combination cf. c. 15, § 19.
- 11 § 9. *Machanidas*] an adventurer who after the death of Lycurgus seized the royal power at Sparta, at first apparently as colleague of Pelops, son and successor of Lycurgus. Afterwards he made himself sole ruler and military despot, supported by an army of mercenaries.
- 14 *Rhion*] cf. XXVIII. 7. 18 *ne intra Rhium (fauces eae sunt Corinthii sinus) opprimeretur*. Livy gives the name to the strait. It was properly the name of the promontory on the S. side, opp. to *Antirrhium* on the N.
- 17 § 10. *magistratum*] the *strategus* who was 'elected annually, presided in the assemblies, represented the sovereignty of the people, and disposed of its military force'. Thirlwall, *Hist. Greece*, c. 63. *Attalus*, XXVI. 24. He was king of Pergamus, who had made himself master of all Asia Minor W. of the Taurus.

## CHAPTER XXX.

- 20 § 1. *Pyrrhias*] was the working general, Attalus the ornamental.
- 25 § 2. *admodum*] *lit.* 'up to full measure', generally means 'very much', 'very', with numerals it has the force of 'fully'; not so used by Cicero.



- p. 48. 2 § 4. *Ptolomazo*] Philopator son of Euergetes.
- 5 *cf*] in addition to the more distant Rhodians &c.  
*pacificator*] a distinctly Livian use of the attributive subst., equivalent to *qui* (final) and a verb. See Livy, IV. App. *Athamānum*, a people of Epirus.
- 6 § 5. *ferociori*] 'too warlike to suit the instincts of the Greeks', see note on text.
- 9 § 6. *in*] of the time for which an appointment is made, a mixture of final and temporal senses.
- 14 § 7. *portibus...adpulsu, arceret*] is used in a slightly different sense with these two words, 'exclude' and 'prevent'.  
*litorum*] a very free use of the objective gen. (the phrase = *ne naves ad litora adpelleret*), more so than Cicero would use, though he has the gen. as equivalent to *de* and *abl.*
- 17 § 9. *Heraeorum*] a festival in honour of Hera, celebrated in Argos, the original seat of the worship of that goddess, and in various other places in Greece, esp. in Aegina, Samos, and Elis.
- 18 *oriundos*] cf. Velleius Paterc. I. 6 *Circa quod tempus* (65 years before the founding of Rome) *Caranus vir generis regii undecimus ab Hercule, profectus Argis regnum Macedoniae occupavit; a quo Magnus Alexander cum fuerit septimus decimus, iure materni generis Achille auctore, paterni Hercule gloriatus est.*
- 19 *Aegium*] lay in a bay formed by two promontories in the gulf of Corinth. After the destruction of Helice the ordinary assemblies of the Achaean League were held there.
- 30 § 13. *Atintania*] a people of northern Epirus, who had been declared free allies of Rome by the Romans after their defeat of the Illyrians B.C. 229; since then in consequence of the desertion of Demetrius the Pharian and his alliance with Philip, the district had been lost to the Romans.  
*Scerdilaedo*] a king of Illyria who having been in alliance with Philip quarrelled with him and in B.C. 217 applied to Rome for assistance which was given to him. Since then however Philip had wrested from him a considerable part of his dominions. *Pleuratus* was his son. *Ardiaei* an Illyrian people, part of Scerdilaedus' dominions, formerly part of queen Teuta's.
- 31 § 14. *enimvero*] cf. c. 16, § 14. *ultra* 'actually'.
- p. 49. 2 *habentem*] 'with any expectation'.
- 6 § 16. *adiecisset*] the conditions under which he had settled in his own mind to attack the Romans.

*nuper*] c. 15, § 7.

7 *Prusia*] ally of Philip, XXVIII. 7.

11 § 17. *celebrari*] 'to be distinguished by the attraction of his presence'.

### CHAPTER XXXI.

14 § 1. *ab*] Cicero and Caesar rarely use the preposition with names of places, Livy as a rule uses it. If the reading *urbibus* in Suet. *Aug.* 86 is right, Augustus probably set the fashion of the usage.

21 § 3. *laeta*] agrees with *classis*.

22 *quoque*] the event not only brought credit to Philip personally, but enhanced the interest of the games at which he presided. *celebritas* combines the notions of importance and large attendance.

23 *quantaecumque*] 'of a victory insignificant enough but, such as it was, gained over Romans', *lit.* 'of a victory however little, yet gained &c.', cf. c. 28, § 10, c. 45, § 3.

25 § 4. *populariter*] cf. c. 28, § 2.

26 *insigni*] τὸ δῖδδγμα, *Polyb.*

31 § 5. *maritas*] the adjectival use of the word is poetical.

32 § 6. *fastigium*] 'level', more commonly of a high level, but cf. II. 27. 6 *curatio altior fastigio*, Verg. *Georg.* II. 288 *forsitan et scrobibus quae sint fastigia quaeras*.

*conspectus*] 'conspicuous', adjectival use of the participle very frequent in Livy.

p. 50. 1 *libertatem*] 'and presenting a semblance of liberty to the eyes of others monopolised the substance of it for his own lawless pleasures'. The sense is that the *bonhomie* and democratic behaviour, which looked as if he was prepared to deal with the Greeks on equal terms, was only assumed to facilitate his own lawlessness; the pl. pf. implies that the conversion of freedom to his own use entirely was already effected while he was amusing others with a prospect of sharing it.

2 § 7. *neque enim*] 'and indeed...not'. In the combination *etenim* (negative *neque enim*) and *sed enim, enim* retains its old demonstrative, confirmatory sense.

5 § 8. *uni*] 'in one case even'. *Arato*, son of the more celebrated man of the name.

8 § 9. *per haec*] adverb. phrase expressing an attendant circumstance

of the celebration. Cicero uses *per* in this way, but the instrumental sense is generally perceptible. In Livy it is very common.

- 9 *Dymas*] near the W. end of the coast of Achaea.  
 12 § 10. *penes eum*] he was strategus of the Achaean league.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

- 22 § 2. *Sulpicium*] cf. c. 30, § 2.  
 23 *quattuor*] probably levied among the allied peoples; compare c. 8, § 15.  
 29 § 4. *et ipse*] cf. c. 27, § 7.  
 p. 51. 10 § 9. *statim*] cf. c. 3, § 2, the adv. is a reduplication of *primo*. *terrore* is a combination of time and cause; the whole phrase = *primo statim adventu territos cepit*; the present part. 'before he had finished arriving' emphasizes the instantaneousness of the capture. 'This crowd, without organisation or means of defence, panic-stricken at his approach allowed themselves to be captured without a blow'.  
*compensaverat*] the pl. pf. expresses the rapidity with which the compensation was effected: in a few minutes he had taken booty which compensated for his ignominious defeat before Elis.  
 15 § 9. *Lychnidum*] on the E. shore of Lake Lychnitis in Illyria. In XLIII. 9. 7 it is called a town of the Dassaretii, though here it appears as out of their territory.  
 16 *Dardanos*] lay above Paeonia.  
 21 § 11. *castris*] 'day's march', a sense properly only applicable to marching of Romans who encamped every night.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

- 24 § 1. *Orestidem*] district on the borders of Epirus.  
 25 *Argestacum*] not otherwise known.  
 28 § 2. *cornu*] an ornamental projection on the helmet peculiar apparently to the Macedonian kings.  
 32 § 4. *regis*] the repetition is required for distinctness.  
 p. 52. 12 § 9. *ludos magnos*] not here = *Romanos*. These were special games (*votivi*) vowed on condition the republic was in the same position five years after the date of the vow (*si res publica in eodem, quo ante bellum, statu permansisset*). The vow was made by Aemilius in B.C. 217. There must apparently have been a renewal of the vow, as here, which is not recorded, XXII. c. 9, 7 and c. 10.

- 15 § 9. *ceterum*] adversative and resumptive here, something like δ' οὐν.  
The matter of the games was a sort of digression. The principal care of the senate was about the armies. Livy and Sallust practically use this adv. as = *sed*, especially after negatives.
- 19 *et ut*] for the change of construction cf. XXI. 18. 1, the *ut* clause seems intended to express the more definite object of their attention.
- 20 § 10. *cum*] the adverbial use with *tum* following, therefore the infin.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

p. 53. 5 § 4. *M. Livius*] (*Salinator* XXIX. 37. 4) was consul B.C. 219 with L. Aemilius Paullus, and had with him conducted the war against Demetrius the Pharian. After their return they were both brought to trial on the charge of having divided the spoil unfairly. Paullus escaped, but Livius was condemned.

*erat*] for this form of introducing the subject of a coming narrative cf. XXIV. 48. 2 *Syphax erat*.

*ex*] immediately after. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* c. 36 *ex ipsa caede nuntium misit*; *de Imp. Cr. Pomp.* c. 15 *vilitas annonae ex summa inopia consecuta est*.

8 *caruerit*] the combination of perfect and imperfect in the same consecutive sentence is peculiar, but not uncommon in Livy, and occurs in Caesar. The perfect here expresses the absolute seclusion following on his departure from Rome.

§ 5. *ferme*] in its original sense of 'quite', so with a numeral 'not less than', here almost = *demum*. 'It was fully eight years &c.' From this sense *ferme* like *μάλιστα* gets the notion of approximation that it so commonly has with words of number and size.

14 § 6. *in senatum*] means probably that these censors restored him to his rank as a senator of which he had been deprived in consequence of his condemnation; as a senator the consuls could have commanded his attendance in the senate.

15 § 7. *verbo*] simply assenting to a proposal in a single word without making any speech, *pedibus* &c. not doing so much as that but only voting silently when a division (*discessio*) took place.

17 *Macati*] possibly the officer in command of Tarentum, c. 25, § 3.

20 § 8. *indigno*] pregnant or absolute use = 'innocent'.

25 § 10. *praeterquam*] 'let alone the fact that &c.'

26 § 11. *par*] subst., 'pair'.

- 27 *nec...aspernatus*] 'received favourably'.  
*mentionem eius rei*] 'the suggestion' *mentio*, often used specially of a matter mooted in the senate, is here used generally of a matter suggested to the people in *comitia* by the senate.
- 31 § 12. *candidam*] 'they were pressing the white *toga* on him against his will', i.e. endeavouring to make him a *candidatus*, a candidate for office.  
*eodem*] cf. c. 1, § 13.
- 32 § 13. *ducerent*] the time is dependent on *damnassent*, 'why had they condemned him if they thought him a good man then (as they professed to do now). If the trial had proved him a bad man (and otherwise how was the condemnation to be accounted for?) why did they now propose &c.?'  
*ita*] 'as they had done', 'as they were doing'.
- p. 54. 2 *credito*] sc. *sibi*, entrusted, *male* with bad results.
- 3 § 14. *Furium*] Camillum.
- 7 § 15. *fecerunt*] procured the election of.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

- 8 § 1. *eius dies*] used on the analogy of *pridie*, *postridie*, with the genitive of the day, as we say, 'on the eve of' or 'the morrow of' as well as 'the day before' or 'after'; *post diem tertium*, 'two days after' (as *ante diem tertium* = 'two days before'), is regarded as a single subst. 'the morrow but one of that day'.
- 12 *abierunt*] though there were no consuls actually in office. Being so near the end of the year, 33, § 6, it probably was not considered worth while to elect suffect consuls, while the dictator, having performed the business he was appointed for, naturally laid down his office.  
*C. Terentius*] cf. c. 24, § 1, sent *cum imperio* to receive the hostages.  
*C. Hostilius*, Tubulus.
- 13 § 2. *ut*] consec. = *ita ut*, 'with the arrangement that'; *iret viseretque* and *ut...adiret* signify the *command* of the senate, *ut...redirent* signify the purpose of Manlius' visit.
- 14 *T. Quinctius*] Crispinus, cf. c. 29, § 6.
- 15 § 3. *L. Manlius*] the *praenomen* is uncertain. But it seems hardly likely to be T. Manlius (c. 33, xxvi. 32). *L. Manlius Acidinus* appears in Italy, c. 50, but, as Weissenb. suggests, may have visited Olympia and returned by that time.

- 18 *per hostem*] cf. *per me licet*, 'if the enemy did not prevent his doing it with safety'. The idea of the phrase seems to be that of passing through what might act as an obstacle.
- 22 § 4. *reddere*] 'were restoring to such people all their property as they had possessed it &c.', stronger than the future as giving more certainty of the restoration. The announcement made so publicly would materially serve the interests of Rome in Greece.
- 25 § 5. *praesciscere*] not used in prose before Livy.
- 26 *quisque*] is used by Livy = *uterque*, but only in combination with *suus*, in which combination it had almost come to form part of a whole adj., *quisque-suus, a, um*.
- 29 § 7. *nobiles*] notorious.
- 30 *sua*] *Livio* is the virtual subject, hence the reflexive, 'Livius had felt this more keenly &c.'
- p. 55. 1 § 8. *ex se*] 'at his expense'. This use of *ex* with *cresco* is something like that in the military phrases, *triumphum agere, victoriam ferre ex*, from which it is possibly derived, cf. XXI. 7, XXIII. 48, Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 30.
- 4 § 10. *permixtae*] i.e., Italy was not assigned generally as the province of both consuls, but a distinct portion of the country assigned to each. 'Their provinces (spheres of duty) were not assigned to the consuls irrespectively of local divisions, but definitely localised in opposite ends of Italy'.
- 5 *finibus*] local abl., cf. Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 35 *discludere Nerea ponto*.
- 9 § 11. *addito*] The meaning apparently is, that the consul, who drew Gaul, was to choose one out of three armies, the Gallic, the Etrurian and the Urban. If he chose either of the former, the Urban would replace it, hence *novis* &c. lower down, necessary whichever army the consul chose; *quem* therefore is not for *utrum*, but used quite regularly.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

- 26 § 8. *hospites*] correspondents, public friends, people who would entertain the Massilians in their own countries and would be entertained by them in Marseilles.
- p. 56. 3 § 8. *augur creatus*] at this time by cooptation.
- 9 § 7. *numerus*] compared with the number given in *periocha* 20, viz. 270214, seems incredibly small. The *periocha* of this book endeavours to account for it.

- 11 § 8. *comitium lectum*] an awning thrown over the *comitium* is apparently what is meant. If it was for the convenience of spectators at the games mentioned, they must have been performed in the *forum* instead of in the *circus maximus*, the usual place, unless the awning was for convenience in viewing the *pompa circi* only, the procession which passed from the capitol through the Forum to the Circus.
- 12 *instauratos*] cf. c. 6, § 19.
- 13 § 9. *plebiis*] cf. c. 21, § 9. It is a question whether this is the dat. after the sense of addition implied in *instauratum* or a modal abl., 'instauration was performed in the way of &c.' In the first case *biduum* is nom. to *instauratum*, in the second accus. of duration.
- 15 *epulum Iovis*] in *Capitolio*, a ceremony (quite distinct from the *lectisternium*), in which Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were feasted, the first reclining on a *lectus*, the others seated on *sellae*. It was performed annually on the 13th of November in connection with the *Iudi plebei*; at a later date a second celebration was added in connection with the *Iudi Romani*. The one mentioned here would be a special performance in consequence of the repetition of the games.  
*ad Cereris*] at the temple of Ceres. *dederunt sc. deae*, i.e. dedicated.
- 18 § 10. *sortiti erant*] c. 35, § 5.
- 23 § 12. *quattuor*] the exact amount of the force in Spain is given here for the first time.
- 28 § 14. *tribunos*] in B.C. 362 (Livy VII. 5. 9), as a sort of corollary perhaps of the appointment of *tribuni militum consulari potestate*, which office ceased in 367, a law was passed empowering the people in *comitia tributa* to appoint six of the military tribunes. The number was augmented in B.C. 311 to 16, and between that and B.C. 219 to 24. The tribunes appointed by the consuls acc. to the old system were called *Rufuli*.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

- 30 § 1. *profiscerentur*] expresses the feeling in consequence of which the ceremony was held. They could not be allowed to set out until &c.  
*novendiale*] cf. I. 31. 4 *Mansit solemne, ut, quandoque (=quando-cunque) idem prodigium (a stone-shower) nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.*
- 31 § 2. *sub*] 'following immediately upon', cf. c. 15, § 7, a temporal sense derived from the local sense of advancing to under a thing, i.e. close up to it.

- p. 57. 1 *Maricae*] a nymph, mother of Latinus, whose worship was connected with that of Jupiter.
- Atellae*] c. 3, § 7.
- 3 § 8. *esse*] expresses not simply the fact that the portent was more terrible, but the feeling of the *Minturnenses* that it was so, in reporting it.
- 4 *portam*] the circumstance shows, Weissenb. says, that the gate was not closed, but only guarded. But the portent would have been all the more prodigious, if the wolf were supposed to have got in through a closed gate.
- 5 § 4. *maioribus*] cf. c. 4, § 15.
- 8 *Armiustro*] a place on the Aventine where a religious ceremony performed by armed men (called by the same name) took place on the 19th of October.
- 9 § 5. *Frusinone*] town of Latium on the *via Latina*.
- 11 *Sinuessa*] c. 11, § 5.  
*incertus*] = *ita ut de eo incertum esset*, the personal use for the impersonal, cf. c. 7, § 15, XXX. 35. 9 *Italicos incertos, socii an hostes &c. essent*. From another point of view it might be called an objective use of the word.
- 13 § 6. *Etruria*] Etruria was the home of soothsaying, and the Romans frequently appealed to them for advice in extraordinary religious difficulties. They coped with the Sinuessan infant by themselves, however. It was the combination of size and ambiguity apparently which required this treatment.
- 16 § 7. *decrevere*] the regular word used of the direction of the *pontifices* in answer to a case laid before them.  
*ter novenae*] 27, put in this form probably in order to introduce the sacred number 3, which appears in so many religious ceremonies and offices.
- 18 *Livio*] sc. *Andronico*, the Greek father of Roman literature, who came as the slave, captured at Tarentum, of a Livius (perhaps Salinator) to Rome B.C. 272, was afterwards freed and became a teacher and playwright. He produced his first play B.C. 240 and probably died about B.C. 204.  
*carmen*] not required, but repeated for distinctness' sake.
- 21 § 9. *aedilium*] It was part of the duty of the aediles to superintend the arrangements, ordered by the senate or consuls, for state religious ceremonials, esp. the *supplicatio* and the rites performed in the procuration of prodigies. The last-mentioned duty forms the point of an



epigram of Martial on a handsome but statue-like woman, *audiat aedilis ne te videatque caveto: portentum est quotiens coepit imago loqui*. The jurisdiction of the aedile extended ordinarily to a circuit of one mile round the city. On the present occasion it was extended probably by the authority of the senate to ten miles.

25 *dotibus*] this is curious, because the *dos* always passed into the possession of the husband. It is not mentioned in other accounts of contributions by the women of Rome in similar emergencies. *inde*, c. 1, § 13.

26 § 10. *caste*] both adverbs are used in a ceremonial, not a moral sense, cf. *inceste* I. 45. 6.

27 § 11. *aliud*] this seems to have been a fresh ceremony prescribed by the *decemviri sacrorum*, the custodians of the Sibylline books, but including the procession and chaunt of maidens ordered by the *pontifices*.

29 *Carmentalis*] somewhere in the part of the Servian wall between the Capitol and the river. Just outside of it in the *prata Flaminia* stood the temple of Apollo, III. 63.

*feminae*] inserted in accordance with the complete and exact style of the religious legal language.

30 *cupressea*] the oldest images were made of wood.

32 § 18. *vestem*] a poetic (Vergilian) construction.

p. 58. 1 *forsitan*] only used by Cicero with the subjunctive, by Livy with the indicative and even, as here, without a verb at all, qualifying an adj.

2 *ingeniis*] abl. of circumstance, 'before men's taste was educated'.

*abhorrens*] used absolutely, 'repulsive', 'harsh'.

*si ref.*] the apodosis is implied in the two adjectives.

4 *Iugario*] locative abl. cf. c. 2, § 10. This thoroughfare led from the *porta Carmentalis* to the *Forum*.

5 § 14. *per manus*] passed from hand to hand, so that all held it, the object of it being to facilitate keeping time all together.

6 *modulantes*] regulating the sound of their voices by their step, dancing in time to the music of their song.

7 § 15. *Tusco &c.*] all lying on the route from the *Forum* to the Aventine, which was approached by the *clivus Publicius*, a paved road, ascending from the *porta trigemina* and forming the regular access to the Aventine from the quarter of the *Forum*.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

16 § 3. *maritimos*] were inhabitants of colonies of Roman citizens planted to protect the coast. In consideration of this permanent garrison duty they were exempted from ordinary military service in the legions. These colonists were part of the Roman state and would serve, if they did, in the legions, not as allies.

*sacrosanctam*] secured by a *lex sacrata*, forbidding interference with the thing or person so secured on pain of excommunication, the excommunicated person being liable to be put to death with impunity, cf. III. 55. 7.

17 *cogebant*] 'proposed to compel'.

18 *in diem certam*] 'gave notice of summons for a certain day (fixing a certain day) for the colonies to submit to the senate their several claims to exemption'. *in*, cf. c. 30, § 6.

24 § 5. *vacatio*] no claim was recognised as valid in case &c. except that of the Ostienses and Antiates. *praeter* condensed = *praeter vacationem Antiatum*, cf. cc. 25, § 2, 1, § 3.

*iuiores*] the men of military age between 18 and 44.

25 *iure iurando*] acc. to Draeger, a modal abl., the accus. and infin. depend on it, or on the sense of the whole expression.

30 *Etruriam*] cc. 21, 24.

32 § 7. *cunctabatur*] was inclined to delay.

p. 59. 1 *suarum*] i.e. assigned to him to choose from, c. 35, § 11.

3 § 8. *habere*] what Livius said.

*intuleratque*] 'and in fact he had &c.' *mentionem*, in connection with the senate is generally used of the action of the whole senate.

4 *revocandis*] in allusion to the volunteers enrolled after the battle of Cannae, XXIII. 32, who were now to be invited to serve again. These were slaves allowed to volunteer in B.C. 215, and afterwards enfranchised by Gracchus in B.C. 214 after the victory at Beneventum.

7 *quo*] to where.

12 § 11. *de legione*] legionary, as opp. to *auxilia*; the phrase is not used elsewhere, and Weissenb. thinks it likely that the number of the legion here has dropped out.

13 *mixtos*] agrees with the sense of *mille equitum*.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

22 § 2. *occuparet*] engage them in war first, before they could join H., the sense of forestalling is the predominant one in *occupo* here, as so often in Livy who uses it as = *φθάνω*.

- 27 § 4. *in eam rem*] in that purpose, in effecting that object, cf. c. 3, § 9.
- 30 *nunc...nunc*] cf. c. 3, § 8.
- 31 *exhausisset*] 'what he had gone through', *lit.* 'what he had drained'. Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* IV. 14 *quae bella exhausta canebat*. Cicero uses the word in this sense in his letters only.
- p. 60. 5 § 7. *pleraque*] this use of the neuter plural of local circumstances is imitation of Greek; as is also the form of the phrase *per munita* &c., comp. below *inter mitiora* &c., in which the Latin writer is at a disadvantage for want of the article.
- 8 *iam*] qualifies *mitiora*.
- § 8. *invisitati*] 'not in the habit of being seen' rather than 'unvisited', cf. IV. 33. 1.
- 9 *alienig.*] dat. after the compound of the participle used adjectivally.
- 10 *primo*] 'in the first instance', followed by *deinde* 'subsequently'.
- 17 § 11. *quod* &c.] 'the advantage gained &c.'
- 24 § 14. *quippe*] with a participle=*quippe qui* with subj. begins with Livy.

## CHAPTER XL.

- 29 § 1. *pariter*] qualifies *duo bella*, 'two simultaneous wars'.
- 32 § 2. *quos...fore*] the question they put to one another, reported in *orat. obliqua*.
- p. 61. 2 § 3. *pensando*] Livy has *a dis* in his mind qualifying *extractam esse*, hence the gerund; so, I. 8. 4 *crescebat urbs alia atque alia adpetendo loca, crescebat* implies 'was extended by the inhabitants' as *munirent* in the next sentence shows.
- 4 *praecipitasset*] the intrans. use is common, cf. Cic. *p. Sestio* XI.
- 25 *qui non modo patriae praecipitanti non subvenirent. prospera*] the successes of the two Scipios.
- 8 § 4. *gesta*] subst.
- exceptisse*] prob. a nautical metaphor 'had harboured (sheltered) the weather-beaten ship of the state'.
- 11 § 6. *accepta*] 'had been allowed to make their way'.
- 22 § 9. *ex*] cf. c. 35, § 8.
- 25 § 10. *perveniret*] the subj. expresses the intention of Hostilius, who proposed to get a chance at the enemy while he could.
- 26 *Uriatis*] see Introduction I.

- 31 § 11. *moverat*] sc. *exercitum*.  
 32 *Sallentini*] occupied the S. coast of the heel of Italy.  
 p. 62. 4 § 13. *Capuam*] he had been transferred from Tarentum to Capua (c. 35, § 14) and was on his way to the latter when he attacked Hannibal.  
 5 § 14. *utroque*] acc. to c. 35, § 12, Nero was to have the choice of either of the armies of the last two consuls. The two armies therefore here mentioned would appear to be that of Crispinus, brought from Tarentum, and that of Marcellus which was at Venusia (c. 29, § 1). Nero, using the permission granted c. 38, § 9, picked out the best men from the two armies to make his new army, and sent the remainder in accordance with c. 35, § 13 to Fulvius.

XLI. EXAMPS

#### CHAPTER XLI.

- 11 § 1. *Grumentum*] had remained loyal to Hannibal.  
 12 *per metum*] cf. c. 31, § 9.  
 17 § 4. *castra*] governed by the sense of *divido* in *interiacebat*: the word is a late one, not found in Cicero or Caesar. Livy uses it elsewhere with the dative.  
 20 *latebrarum*] = *quidquam latebrarum*.  
 25 § 6. *quo minus*] the corresponding demonstrative is not expressed, but implied in what follows; his determination to place the ambush was in proportion to the unlikelihood of such a thing being suspected, an affected way of saying that he did it for the simple reason that it was not likely to be suspected.  
 26 *cohortis*] allies, *manip.* legionaries.  
 27 *aversis*] at the back of the hills, see notes on text.  
 p. 63. 1 § 8. *signum*] after the Roman fashion apparently.

#### CHAPTER XLII.

- 12 § 2. *ala*] cf. c. 1, § 7; *inibat* because the two together formed one line.  
 15 § 3. *in*] 'in the case of'.  
 22 § 6. *enim*] refers to what is implied; the slaughter was less (than it would have been) because of the nearness of the camp: for &c.  
*in*] Cicero uses this construction, Livy generally has the accusative only after *invado*.

- 23 *secundis*] 'down the hills'; the word could properly only be used of water in this sense; it is applied to land here on the analogy of *secundo flumine* and similar phrases.
- 24 § 7. *tamen*] though it was less than it might have been.
- 27 § 8. *circa*] in Cicero and Caesar only used in its local sense. *circiter* is classical prose Latin for the sense of it here.
- 32 § 9. *continuis*] 'immediately after that on several consecutive days'.
- p. 64. § 10. *institit*] advanced so close up to the gates of H.'s camp, *prope* &c., that he seemed almost to be entering them: *inferre signa*, used here quite generally of the advance of troops; the object of the sentence can only be to express the nearness of Nero's army to the gates.
- 2 *ignibus tabernaculisque*] sc. *relictis*.
- 3 *quae pars*] = *in ea parte castrorum quae*.
- 6 *intendit*] = *contendit*, not so used by Cicero.
- 7 § 11. *successit*] 'advanced up to', c. 18, § 13: the verb is used with *acus* in the sense of mounting (= *ascendo*).
- 13 § 12. *inferri*] cf. § 10.
- 14 § 13. *discurrunt*] the present tense after *dum* acc. to the regular idiom. This is Livy's favourite use of the word with the indic. half temporal, half causal (almost final here).
- 20 § 15. *Metapontum*] if H. made this march, it was to pick up Hanno and his troops before proceeding north to join his brother, as Livy represents him as doing unimpeded by his splendidly victorious enemies, who had been sent out for the special purpose of preventing a junction between him and Hasdrubal.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

- 29 *Placentiae*] cf. c. 39, § 11.
- p. 65. 5 § 2. *Claudium*] cf. c. 11, §§ 11, 13.
- 6 § 3. *implicantes*] after at first attempting to mislead him by vague replies: the present participle is conative, the sense of the verb is probably derived from its frequent connection with the word *error*, e.g. *erroribus implicari*, &c., II. 21. 4 *tanti errores implicant temporum*.
- 8 § 4. *sicut erant*] 'just as they were, with the seal unbroken'.
- 14 § 5. *ordinariis*] adhering strictly to regulations: the word is not found in Cicero or Caesar, and is intended to be technical and formal with reference probably to the phrase *extra ordinem*, used of work undertaken by the consuls outside their assigned sphere.

- provinciae]* cf. c. 35, § 19.
- 16 *gereret]* consecutive after *id quo = eiusmodi ut*.
- 19 § 7. *verteret]* may be intransitive, or govern *cives* repeated from the previous sentence.
- 22 § 8. *legionem...dilectum]* to replace the urban army.
- 23 § 9. *ad]* before.
- 24 *senatu]* dat., the form is commoner in poetry but is used in good prose. Caesar called it the correct form.
- 25 § 10. *Larinatem &c.]* These are districts lying between Apulia and the coast of Umbria, but not given in their geographical order.
- 28 *paratos]* ready cooked.
- p. 66. § 12. *fexit in]* 'bent his steps, directed his course towards', absolute use of the verb, post-Augustan.
- 3 *et...quidem...Romae]* 'So the consul &c....Meanwhile at Rome &c.', cf. c. 2, § 3.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

- 6 *biennio]* seems to be a mistake. It was in B.C. 211 that Hannibal appeared before the walls of Rome.
- 8 *animis]* *constat* with dat. of the person who has a fixed purpose or opinion is common, *animis* here is substituted for the persons: 'they could not quite make up their minds whether to praise or blame &c.'
- 9 § 2. *quo...est]* in apposition to what follows.
- 14 § 3. *tutiora]* a natural confusion of expression, 'safer by nothing else than a false impression in the mind of the enemy' = 'with nothing better to protect it than &c.' Weissenb. says it is a more expressive way of saying *errore hostis tutiora quam ulla alia re*.
- 15 *inde]* cf. c. 1, § 13.
- 18 § 4. *praedae]* 'left for a prize of war'.
- 19 *imperio...auspicio]* 'without authority human or divine (secular or religious)', *imp.* was the consular power viewed in its civil and military, *auspicium* the same viewed in its religious aspect.
- 23 *ingentes]* in spite of Hannibal's late serious losses! See Introduction.
- 26 § 6. *gemina]* xxv. 34, 36.
- p. 67. § 9. *ignoto]* 'that Nero, the general he was about to meet, was not unknown to him, but one whom &c.': for the fact cf. xxvi. 17.
- 4 *elusisset]* 'he had played with'.
- 5 *omnia &c.]* i.e. *omnia hostium praesidia maiora etiam vero ducebant, omnia sua praesidia minora vero*; 'greater or less than truth' = 'greater or less than they really were'; *praesidia*, military forces generally.

- 6 *interprete*] 'for Fear is always a pessimist', *lit.* 'fear as an interpreter being always inclined to the worse side'.

## CHAPTER XLV.

- 7 *fecerat*] 'had put sufficient distance between himself and the enemy to make it fairly safe to disclose his plan'.
- 12 § 3. *ad quod...eo*] = *ei bello* or *ad id bellum ad quod*, cf. c. 1, § 13. 'Obviously in a war in which my colleague did not take the field until he had received from the senate enough forces of infantry and cavalry to satisfy his utmost desires,...any additional force that *we* can throw on our side of the balance (into our scale) must be decisive'.
- 16 *ipsi*] emphasizes subject of *addiderint* in opposition to the other army.  
*momentum*] cf. c. 9, § 1. *quantumcunque*, cf. XXVIII. 32. 9 and c. 31, § 3, and see note on text.
- 17 *inclinatuos*] same metaphor as *momentum*, they would alter the balance of things entirely.  
§ 4. *auditum*] 'this news alone received on the field of battle &c.' *daturum*, sc. *se*.
- 21 § 5. *parva momenta*] 'small things at a critical moment'.
- 24 § 6. *traxisse*] another metaphor from scales, 'the last force added always seems to have done all the work (lifted the whole weight)': cf. *Æyew Soph. Electra* 119.
- 26 *celebretur*] 'what admiring crowds flocked to applaud them, and do honour to their march'.  
*et hercule*] 'and certainly'; hercle *ponitur ubi aut dubitatio qualiscunque est removenda, aut ipsa res affirmanda, ut pro certe multis in locis accipi possit. Hand-Tursell. per instructa*, cf. c. 39, § 7.
- 32 § 8. *faustum* and *felix* express the same idea under two aspects: the former is that which is done under the blessing of the gods, the latter is that which succeeds in consequence of having the blessing of the gods upon it. The latter is active and used of persons as well as things, the former is passive and used of things only.
- p. 68. *votorum*] this genitive after *accuso*, *absolvo*, and similar words certainly arose from an ellipse of *crimine*: with the expression here cf. Verg. *Aen.* v. 237 *voti reus*, 'condemned to pay their vows'.
- 7 § 11. *certare*] sc. *cum iis*, 'the soldiers were as moderate as they were pressing, refusing to take anything &c.'

## CHAPTER XLVI.

- 15 *tessera*] *tesserae* were properly the wooden tablets containing the watch-word for the night and passed through the camp. The word here apparently means a verbal order passed from one to the other with the *tessera*.
- 18 § 2. *opus*] 'it was necessary that the camp should not be &c.', compare the use of *nego*.
- 19 *et coartatio* &c.] Livy's own statement.
- 20 *tendentium*] the military use, 'quartered', *lit.* 'stretching tents'.
- 22 *ceterum*] adversative, opposing what follows to the remark about the facility of quartering the second army.
- 26 § 4. *Senam*] Sena Gallica, a maritime colony founded B.C. 289 after the conquest of the Senones, on the coast of Umbria S. of Fanum Fortunae.
- 32 § 5. *Porcius*] c. 39, § 1.
- p. 69. 4 § 6. *carperet*] that is, inflicting small losses: the word is used in its literal sense of pulling small pieces off anything, nibbling at it. In this connection it is generally used in a more general sense, 'wasting', 'weakening' &c. Livy says nothing of Hasdrubal's successes before this which are implied in c. 49, § 7.
- 7 § 7. *dum...reficeret...ad noscendum*] two final clauses in different forms, 'to give Nero time to refresh &c. and for the purpose of getting acquainted with the enemy'.
- 12 § 9. *torpentem*] 'was dozing, as it were, in consequence of his delusion, and so &c.'
- 15 *rediri*] *impers. pass.*
- 19 § 11. *abutendum*] use to the utmost, made the very most of.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

- 25 *vetera*] rusty, unpolished, as of men who had been making a long march in a hurry, not absolutely old, which would not be to the point. Silius Italicus expresses it, *pulveris in clipeis vestigia visa movebant et properi signum accursus*.
- 26 *strigosiores*] 'lean', the result of hard riding.
- 27 *solita*] larger than he had been accustomed to see during the past days, not simply, larger than usual, which would probably have been *maior solito*.
- 28 § 2. *enim*] refers to *moram attulit*.



- 29 *aquabantur*] sc. *Romani. notari*, the subj. is *si qui...essent*.
- 30 *adustioris*] not a common word and not used before Livy.
- 31 § 8. *simul &c.*] *alios* must be supplied before *circumvehi*, 'to ride round', *castra* being the accus. after it.
- 32 *num*] in dependent questions, as *μή*, suggests the possibility that what follows it is true. *num hoc ita est?* 'this is not so, is it?' But *quaerit num hoc ita sit*, "he wants to know about that negative statement 'this is not so is it?'" suggests a misgiving that it is not 'not so', that is, that it is so. So here the men were ordered to examine and see whether the *vallum* was *not* enlarged, as H. half suspected it was. So *μή ἀμαρτάνεις*; 'you are not doing wrong, are you?' *δέδοικα μή ἀμαρτάνεις*, 'I fear you *are* doing wrong'.
- p. 70. § 4. *ut*] this change from the infin. to the subj. with or without *ut*, after *iubeo*, is not uncommon in Livy. *canat*, it seems a question whether in this and similar expressions *cano* is used intransitively, or whether there is always an ellipse of *tubicen* as subj. to *cano*.
- 2 *aucta*] the fact that the camp was nowhere enlarged.  
*faciebant*] not 'caused', but 'was by way of, on the point of causing', only the experience of H. corrected the wrong impression before it was completed.
- 5 § 8. *quo*] in order to lengthen the lines of tents, cf. c. 46, § 2.
- 7 *signum*] this must have been a day signal, cf. § 8; it sounded just before the *coena* began, when the day sentry duty ended; another was sounded when the *coena* ended. It is hardly credible that two generals in their senses would stultify all their other precautions for the sake of a military regulation. Under the circumstances one signal would suffice for both armies.
- 8 *esse*] the conclusion he drew.
- 10 § 8. *tantae &c.*] ought to = *eo usque de tanta re deceptum et elusum esse*, 'had been so far outwitted in such an important matter'. But Livy would most likely have been surprised to be told so. He only thought of the necessity for a striking and original expression; *frustratione* required a gen. after it, so *rei* is inserted meaning nothing, and *tantae* for variety's sake made to agree with it.
- 12 *haberet*] the reading *habuerit*, which Weissenb. and Madvig retain, is more logically correct, but *haberet* regarded *ex sententia Hannibalis* is more vivid, 'who (as he thought) lay encamped next door to him'.
- 22 § 9. *tranavit*] used loosely: it would be partly swimming and partly wading. The hexameter rhythm should be noticed: compare the opening of his work, II. 56. 1 and XXII. 50. 10.

- 24 *somno*] see note on text; that the confusion is natural and expressive is shown not only by Horace's *ludo fatigatumque somno*, but by Homer's *καμάτω ἀδικότες ἤδὲ καὶ ἕπνω*; the fact is, in this connection *somnus* gets the sense of sleepiness.
- 26 § 10. *ripa*] local abl. The only chance in the dark was to stick to the river, and, as this happened to be a winding one, they made little or no progress.
- 27 *orbem*] see note on text, 'marching in circles'.
- 29 § 11. *sed cum*] 'but the banks that confined the river increased in height the further he advanced inland, and he was unable to find a ford, consequently &c.'

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

p. 71. *cum*] cf. c. 13, § 2.

7 *itineris*] 'in marching order', cf. XXVIII. 2. 3 *tum sarcinis in medium coniectis arma Romani capiunt acieque iusta in pugnam vadunt*, describing the formation of battle order on the march, where *acie iusta* corresponds to *ad conserendum* &c. here.

9 § 4. *derecta*] seems to be a more correct form than *directa*.

11 § 5. *pugnandum*] sc. *esse* 'when he saw that he must fight'.

12 *circa*] apparently means that they had some elephants in front of them and that their line extended on each side of the animals; the Ligurians were similarly placed behind elephants in the centre.

14 *credebat*] slight anacoluthon; it should strictly be *credens*.

17 § 7. *longior* &c.] 'deep rather than wide', cf. XXIII. 8. 14 *dimidium de fronte demptum introrsus porrectis ordinibus duplicat ut longa potius quam lata acies esset*. So Polybius, describing this battle, τὸ βάθος ἀξήσας τῶν τάξεων καὶ ποιήσας ἐν βραχεί χώρῳ τὴν ὄλην δύναμιν.

20 § 8. *dextra acies*] sc. *Romanorum*.

24 § 9. *duces ambo*] Livius and Hasdrubal.

27 § 10. *antesignanos*] cf. c. 18, § 2.

28 *signa*] cf. c. 1, § 10.

29 § 11. *inpotentius*] adv. of *inpotens* = *inpotens sui*, 'uncontrolled', the adverb in sense qualifying the subject rather than the predicate, cf. c. 28, § 3, 'were governed more uncontrolledly' = 'got more and more beyond control'.

31 § 12. *quid ergo*] that is, what is the good of all our labour in marching here, if we are to take no part in the fight?

p. 72. *erigere*] to march straight up the hill in front, cf. c. 2, § 12.

- 3 § 13. *ubi*] 'where he saw there would be more standing at ease than fighting'.
- 7 § 14. *ut cum*] 'that the moment after they had appeared on the flank they were fighting on the rear'.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

- 17 *scalprum*] 'chisel'.
- 25 § 3. *abnuentes*] used absolutely, a use not found elsewhere except in poetry. Mg. suggested the emendation *taedio laborem*, which Friederdsd. and Luchs have adopted. Sallust *Jug.* 68. 3, quoted by Weissenb., is not in point, because *abnuentes* there is completed by *omnia*.
- 28 § 4. *fortuna*] 'the day was the enemies', a personification; fortune the decider of the contest was on the side of the enemy.
- p. 73. 2 § 5. *vel...vel*] looked at either way, whether the loss of the commander or of the army were considered.
- 7 § 7. *solacii*] cf. c. 9, § 13.
- 13 § 8. *uno agmine*] so that they could be destroyed with less trouble than if they were scattered about in various directions. The following phrases imply the disorganisation and helpless condition of these troops.
- 15 § 9. *supersint*] Weissenb. and Mg. retain *quin* before this verb. If retained, it must have a simply adversative sense, 'nay'.
- nuntii*] cf. c. 30, § 4.

## CHAPTER L.

- 23 § 3. *nam Romae*] 'as for Rome, it is beyond the power of words to describe adequately the state of feeling there, either during the suspense of uncertainty, or after the receipt of the news of victory'. *nam*, there is an ellipse; 'I say this about the country districts, and that is all I can describe, for at Rome &c.'
- 24 *quo...quo*] the antecedent is *habitus animi*.
- 32 § 6. *accidit*] 'fell on', so *sonitus accidens auribus*: Livy also uses it with *ad* in the sense of 'reaching', XXI. 10. 12 *unde nec ad nos fama nomenque eius accedere possit*; and that is really the sense here, but the dative puts it more picturesquely.
- p. 74. *Umbriae*] the camp is that of L. Manlius Acidinus who had apparently been sent to carry out the advice of Nero, c. 43. 9.
- opposita*] sc. *hostibus*, 'the protecting camp placed at the entrance of Umbria'. Narnia was strongly situated on a lofty hill on the left bank of the Nar.
- 3 § 7. *ut maius*] 'as something greater and more delightful' &c.

- 8 § 9. *tribunal*] cf. c. 19, § 11. The *praetor urbanus* was representative of the consuls in their absence.
- 12 § 10. *summoti*] sc. *sunt*, they were dispersed from the doors of the senate and reduced to order; *submovere* is a regular police word used of the lictors making people move out of the way of the magistrates or dispersing a crowd, cf. Horace *Odes* II. 16. 10.
- 13 *dispensari*] 'the joy which was too much for their minds could be administered to them piecemeal'. *dispenso* is to distribute money &c. in fixed portions or shares, hence *dispensator*, a steward. *laetitia* is used both subjectively and objectively in the same sentence; as subject to *potuit* it is the news which raised the feeling of joy, in *cuius* it is the feeling which they were powerless to control.
- 15 § 11. *et pro* &c.] 'and according to their different temperaments some rejoiced at once without misgiving, while others were not going to believe until they heard it from officers of the staff, or by despatch from the consuls'.

## CHAPTER LI.

- 19 *enim vero*] cf. c. 16, § 14.  
*primus quisque*] 'all wishing to be the very first to &c.', *lit.*, 'wishing each first to &c.' *primus quisque* distributes *cupientes* in apposition to it. On the meaning of *primus quisque*, see c. 5, § 12.
- 20 § 2. *Mulvium*] 2 miles N. of the city, where the *via Flaminia* crossed the river.
- 29 § 5. *summota*] either asyndeton with *esset* understood or abl. absol.
- 31 § 6. *ipse*] 'in his own words'.
- p. 75. 2 *caperent*] 'could hold, contain'.
- 7 § 8. *pro*] cf. c. 19, § 11.
- 12 § 10. *statum*] evidently the financial or commercial position of the state is specially meant, though the expression is general; 'altered the aspect of affairs in the city'. *firmavit* the conjecture of Mg. would certainly suit the context better than *movit*.
- 13 *res contrahere*] 'to do business', 'enter into engagements' with one another.
- 19 § 11. *ut erant*] cf. c. 43. 4.
- 22 § 12. *fortunam*] 'the doom', 'the decision of fate against C.' Cf. Horace *Odes* IV. 4. 70 *occidit occidit spes omnis et fortuna nostri nominis Hasdrubale interempto*.
- 25 § 13. *Bruttios*] it would be more usual to repeat the preposition in an apposition of this kind, cf. III. 31. 3 *hostem in sua sede in Algidio inveniunt*.

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quies, cert. -ly = perfect.

ablego (com) to send off.

egestas - atus, want, poverty.

procedere, shortly, at an early day.

no, ice, in return, to strike, but

prop. in min. deal.

entroply, forthwith.

pratum, former.

Castigo, causare, punish.

recundae - ae, shyness, timidity, (com. news)

verna - ae glass, favor.

anops doubtful

legis - is, law.

castigatio - one, punish.

itus - itus, action.

ad - at, satisfaction.

indignus - us, unworthy.

indignus - us, unworthy.

cupido - us, desire.

transilio - us, transition.

merces - mercedis, reward.

hosha, action.

denum - at, denarius.

inductio - arum, introduction.

inductio - arum = three, introduction.

consero - i sevi ad huc, to engage in

adipiscor, - i defatus sum, to obtain

frango - au p. h. i. r. - p. uclum, = to break

frango - au p. h. i. r. - p. uclum, = to break  
frango - au p. h. i. r. - p. uclum, = to break

res. part all around end in e. u

adj: rare & i.

Supreme is used in place of sup. to exp  
purpose. (P.O.) predation

{ dies in sup in or }  
{ in pl always small }

